

Apud Thesaurum Brandenburgicum Selectusa, a L. Begero. p. 235.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

LIFE and REIGN

OF

PHILIP

King of MACEDON.

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE and REIGN OF PHILIP King of MACEDON; THE Father of ALEXANDER.

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HISTORY

OF THE

LIFE AND REIGN

OF

ALEXANDER

THE

GREAT,

KING OF MACEDON.



To the Reverend

Dr. THOMAS LELAND,

ON HIS

HISTORY

OF

PHILIP of MACEDON.

THO' paſt the Bounds DAVID to Life aſſign'd,
I rhyme in this dark Evening of the Mind;
Tho' midſt my Books and Groves, from Courts retir'd,
Untun'd I ſing, by Love alone inſpir'd,
Still for a Friend diſdaining Cares and Years,
While Health's gay Smile his languid Numbers chears;
While inbred Comforts calm each peaceful Day,
And ſweet Content's dear Bleſſings ſwell his Lay;
While Zeal for thine and ev'ry public Good
Warms the weak Line, and thaws his frozen Blood;
Accept no venal Bard's enfeebled Song,
Whoſe Life or Verſe can never ſerve thee long:
Who Age endures, while with Delight he ſpends
His Fortune, to promote the nobleſt Ends:

Who, careleſs of his own, to thy juſt Praiſe
By PHILIP rous'd, this laſt Remembrance pays;
Chanting like ancient Swans before he dies,
And from this World of tedious Trifles flies!

Yet in bad Times, when Merit ſeems a Crime,
Its due Applauſe offends, tho' pall'd by Rhyme.
Jealous of thoſe who (taught from Heav'n) excel,
Men curb the Petulance of writing well.
They hate the Witty, and the Learn'd malign,
And, ſtung with Shame, at happy Pens repine.
Too proud to praiſe, too ſelfiſh to befriend,
With Pleaſure they condemn, with Pain commend.
A riſing State or Genius all oppoſe,
In both Succeſs and Grandeur raiſe them Foes.
As Froſts and Storms the Beauties of the Spring,
In their new Bloom, to ſure Deſtruction bring;
Watch'd in its Dawn is orient Worth purſu'd
By gloomy Spleen and black Ingratitude!

Thus venom'd Serpents in his Cradle ſtrove
To kill young HERCULES, tho' ſprung from JOVE.

Perplex'd with Doubts, I ſee the Riſks you run,
Where thoſe who venture moſt, are moſt undone.
Authors of old had only Fools to fear,
Now the half Scholar helps half Wits to ſneer.
Tho' Felons by the Book from Death are freed,
Writers are now condemn'd, becauſe they read;
Their Toils deſpis'd, by partial Judges try'd,
Readers that ſcarce can read, their Doom decide.
Nay, Men are prompteſt, Sir, to ſhew their Spite,
When ſome, like you, without groſs Errors write;
And, as our Appetites from ſtinted Food
Are ever in Proportion keen and good,
Still the leſs Cauſe appears to damn or blame,
Impaſſion'd more, inſidious Tongues declaim.

So Diſputants, who Truth's calm Cauſe betray,
Are loudeſt where they know they've leaſt to ſay;
And, while their lying Eloquence they vent,
Railing and Noiſe muſt paſs for Argument.
Alike are Authors and Projectors us'd;
Tho' moiling for our Good, they're both abus'd.
To nurſe this ſtarveling Iſle, in evil Days,
Loads thankleſs Want with Debts, which Slander pays;
And to write Books, to help this thoughtleſs Age,
Inflames reproachful Ignorance to Rage.
To write what all ſhunn'd, like ULYSSES' Bow,
Leſt the raſh Trial might their Weakneſs ſhew;
To draw the MACEDONIAN'S tow'ring Mind,
That with a Giant's Height o'erlook'd Mankind;
To mark his Courſe, like Comets that return
To Earth, and with their former Luſtre burn;
To trace his Schemes, while, with freſh Triumphs fir'd,
His daring Views to conquer Worlds aſpir'd;
To copy the Antique, yet paint his Soul
With RAPHAEL'S Grace from Nature thro' the Whole;
To ſhew ſo good a Spirit, Head, and Pen,
Are ſuch rank Inſults on this Race of Men,
That, as by Nature we're to Envy prone,
And hate all Merit that obſcures our own,
I fear you'll raiſe to ſuch a Height your Name,
That vengeful Malice muſt deſtroy your Fame.
Malign'd, traduc'd, thus ÆSCULAPIUS fell
By Thunderbolts, for ſerving Men too well!
Yet in theſe Volumes, Envy muſt confeſs,
Good Senſe is ſeen, and in a lovely Dreſs.
Oh! may thy Prince the World attentive keep,
(As oft he rous'd it from its ſlothful Sleep;)
Then will each Friend to Liberty be charm'd,
And every Heart that Virtue loves be warm'd.

A Zeal for righteous Deeds, a noble Scorn
For Crimes tho' thron'd, this gen'rous Work adorn.
Well have you turn'd hiſtoric Archives o'er,
And reſcu'd, from their Wrecks, your treaſur'd Store.
You've glean'd whate'er the letter'd Ancients knew,
And added more, a fine Arrangement too.
Nay, where they're ſilent, your Conjectures fill
The Vacancy with ſuch Addreſs and Skill,
We by our Loſſes gain, or their Neglects,
As from vaſt Ruins Art a Town erects.
Let Fools, turn'd Critics then, your Labours blame,
Whoſe Praiſe would Scandal be, their Cenſures Fame;
Tho' Slander growls, theſe poliſh'd Tomes are wrought
With the ſame Judgment that your Hero fought.
Rich from the Matter, richer from the Charms
With which a Love for GREECE each Section warms.
Faint Rolls of Annals ſhunn'd, your Taſte refin'd
Plans, from the Life, the Manners and the Mind,
Unfolds both Actors and their Actions too,
And lays their Hearts quite open to our View.
Here we diſcern blind Party's furious Heat,
Like Earthquakes tearing up the ſhatter'd State.
Here, Patriots, trace the Sources, whence the Crown
Of BRITAIN ſinks diminiſh'd in Renown;
High Poſts ador'd, Religion ridicul'd,
A Scorn for Virtue, and a Luſt for Gold!
Luxurious Pride, and Ignorance careſs'd,
Skill, Courage, Public Spirit, Arts depreſs'd,
And true Deſert borne down by Intereſt!
Gaming and Drinking, Revelling and Show,
Preferr'd to all that's high and good below,
To all that us'd to raiſe the ENGLISH Name,
To CHURCHILL's Sword, or * RUSSELL's Patriot Flame!

* The great Lord RUSSELL, who in 1683 fell a Sacrifice to the Love of his Country and the Proteſtant Religion.

Such

Such Crimes, you ſhew, the Pow'r of ATHENS broke,
And bow'd her Neck to the proud Victor's Yoke.
Hence GREECE, enſlav'd, her abject Fate deplor'd,
While Bribes and Factions wing'd th'Invader's Sword.
Here Stateſmen taught, may dare to ſtand alone,
Without the Props of Placemen round the Throne.
If great by ALBION's riſing Strength they grow,
And raiſe an Int'reſt Penſions can't beſtow!
From PHILIP's Life, all Ranks may Wiſdom gain,
Subjects to guard their Rights, and Kings to reign;
PITT learn to ſpeak, and CHESTERFIELD to write,
And PRUSSIA's King, for Conqueſt born, to fight.
With nice Diſcernment varying Parts are brought
In Union, whence this beauteous Whole is wrought;
Blending mixt Authors in one lovely Maſs,
As burning CORINTH form'd her ſplendid Braſs.
To fix all Facts where Comments are at Strife,
And give to brooded Matter Heat and Life;
Each Scene as acted in our Sight to ſhew,
And o'er Confuſion, Grace and Order throw;
To make of half-writ Hiſt'ries one compleat,
Worthy a Prince, thro' Arms and Prudence great;
Oblivion ſpurn'd, to lift him near the Skies,
As Mortals crown'd by mighty Deeds can riſe;
Denotes a Soul, where Taſte and Science ſit
Inthron'd, to weigh what GREECE atchiev'd or writ.
Hence in his Majeſty of Mind array'd,
Nor by thoſe Spoilers DEATH and TIME decay'd,
Summ'd from looſe Fragments, PHILIP ſhines anew,
Cycles of Ages paſt, reſtor'd by you.
Hence his dead Lawrels, now freſh bloom'd, he wears,
While brighten'd from the Ruſt of waſting Years;
Adorn'd, repair'd, he rears his awful Head,
To rouſe the Living, and revive the Dead!

So

So midſt the Ruins, on ſome Claſſic Hill,
In ROME, the Connoiſſeur exerts his Skill;
The pregnant Caverns cautious he explores,
For Coins, Urns, Buſts, as Miners dig for Ores;
But if, while trenching up th'hiſtoric Ground,
Some Conſul's Statue, dear to Fame, is found;
Tho' maim'd and broke, he pieces up the Face,
Joins ſcatter'd Limbs, and aids each faded Grace.
The ſtrong Expreſſion, Attitude, and Air,
Aſſume new Life beneath the Artiſt's Care;
With priſtine Force the breathing Marble ſpeaks,
And ROME's old Warrior from his Sleep awakes!

GREEK Story, which, like captive JEWS confus'd,
No Marks diſtinct of Tribes or Dates had us'd,
You have clear'd up, and from that Chaos ſhewn
A well form'd fair Creation of your own.
Your Prince, tho' ſullied with Ambition's Crime,
(That royal Sin of Spirits too ſublime)
You ſtamp midſt Glory's Charms and Errors bright,
Like creſcent Moons, whoſe Spots obſcure their Light.
To teach ſurviving Kings, the Pen can raiſe
Dead Monarchs to recorded Shame or Praiſe;
But, juſt to Worth, his Faults you gently treat,
For thoſe ſlight Clouds ſhine where the Splendor's great.
Nay Heroes Faults oft ſerve, as Lees in Wines,
To make them work, which ſinking, all refines;
There human Frailties groſly to expoſe
Virtue's beſt Friends would level with her Foes.
Truth has her hid Reſerves, the Wiſe muſt own,
And dark Receſſes, which ſhould ne'er be ſhewn.
He writes without true Judgment, who reveals
Secrets, which modeſt Senſe from Fools conceals.
In Hiſt'ry, like Religion, Reaſon finds
Myſt'ries too high for low and vulgar Minds.

The

The Crowd may view whate'er demands the Light,
The reſt with Silence dwells, and loves the Night.
So, in Profile, ſkill'd Sculptors carv'd the Face
Of HANNIBAL, to veil his Eye's Diſgrace.
His native Beauties thus appear'd in View,
While caſual Blemiſhes unſeen withdrew.
Truth, blind with Age, and led by Falſehood wrong,
Now finds the couching Hand ſhe wiſh'd for long;
And, freed from Night's deep Gloom, and raving Dreams,
Bleſſes thine Art, and hails the Solar Beams.
Where Time's thick Miſts, with Men's Deluſions join'd,
Darken Events, there moſt thy Skill has ſhin'd,
For Light's the brighteſt Daughter of the Mind.
This both thy Works illumines with its Rays,
Warm, clear, and ſweet, as cloudleſs Summer Days.
Fair was thine Eldeſt born, as dawning Skies
Shew greater Spendor, yet will ſoon ariſe;
Here's one more fair; oh! may thy next prevail
O'er this, like JACOB catching ESAU's Heel,
The YOUNGEST NOBLEST—thus thy laſt may be
An Honour to Mankind, as well as Thee!
Yet is it ſtrange your earlieſt Works ſhould gain
That Maſt'ry aged Writers ſcarce attain.
Our Pen's firſt Efforts we on Trifles try,
All like th'ÆGYPTIAN Firſt-born, doom'd to die;
But, in this Piece, no Want of rip'ning Years,
Or the deep Themes which Sages boaſt, appears.
Such in long Toils for Wiſdom ſpend their Lives,
And purchaſe that, as JACOB earn'd his Wives;
Heav'n gave your Youth that Senſe Experience buys,
Time lends but Spectacles to older Eyes.
At your own Stage of Life, your PHILIP's Son,
The Earth ſubdu'd, had all his Lawrels won;

And, as in Conqueſts, ſo in Letters too,
Genius can more than Time-taught Prudence do;
And, where inſpiring Virtue is their Aim,
Leads early Souls by Arts or Arms to Fame.
As PALLAS from JOVE's Head a Goddeſs ſprung
Compleat in Size and Grace, and wiſe as young;
So Nature's Gifts enlighten'd Spirits raiſe
To all their Heights, without a Length of Days!
Should Envy ſtill ſuggeſt ſuch Doubts as theſe,
How learn'd this Novice ev'ry Rule to pleaſe?
How found that myſtic Secret to excel,
To plan ſo right, and execute ſo well?
If Friendſhip never form'd a Thought unjuſt,
If I that dear but partial Tie can truſt,
I'll name the Cauſe—'tis that the young Divine
Deigns in the lower Scenes of Truth to ſhine,
And, tho' more us'd to teach ſublimer Things,
Deſcends to ſpeak of Heroes and of Kings!
Thus Angels, when Men's Daughters bleſs'd their Arms,
Ador'd thoſe lovely Rivals of their Charms,
Till the grand Offspring of the genial Bed
Giants, tranſcending human Deeds, were bred!

SAMUEL MADDEN.

THE

THE PREFACE.

THE hiſtories of ancient times, which ſeem moſt likely to engage the general attention, are ſuch as abound with extraordinary and ſurprizing events, great and glaring actions, aſtoniſhing viciſſitudes of fortune, and ſtriking inſtances of ſucceſs, apparently diſproportioned to the powers and abilities, or even to the expectations, of thoſe, whoſe bold attempts were thus wonderfully crowned. The hiſtory now preſented to the reader, it muſt be confeſſed, is of another nature. It leads him on gradually, through a ſeries of actions and events, many of them ſeemingly inconſiderable, but all operating regularly to produce one of the greateſt revolutions of power, which the annals of the heathen world afford. The ſlow and painful ſteps, by which PHILIP king of Macedon

warily and ſagaciouſly proceeded, with a patient reſolution, to ſtrengthen and to aggrandize his kingdom, to incorporate it with the illuſtrious nation of Greece, to ſubdue that nation, and to place himſelf at the head of its united powers; as they diſcover no leſs merit and abilities than that rapidity of conqueſt, which caſts ſuch glory round his ſon, and other heroic characters; ſo they may poſſibly appear no leſs worthy of attention, although the detail be frequently addreſſed rather to the judgment than to the imagination.

In this caſe indeed, the taſk of the hiſtorian is by far more difficult: his errors and imperfections more obvious and ſtriking. Great and ſurprizing actions ſupport themſelves, and animate the writer with that ſpirit and energy with which they ſhould be deſcribed. But to conduct the reader through the labyrinths of policy; to trace the progreſs of an artful, penetrating, and ſagacious prince, ſurrounded with dangers and difficulties, exactly and inceſſantly attentive to his deſigns, and wiſely chuſing and proportioning his inſtruments and means to the great ends which he propoſed; to diſcloſe the latent cauſes of the declenſion and ruin of nations, of the grandeur of kings, and the eſtabliſhment of empires;—theſe call for all the accuracy, all the judgment, of a writer.

In displaying the difficulties of his task, the author means not to insinuate, that he is possessed of any extraordinary abilities; but to bespeak the indulgence and pardon of the reader, for those imperfections, which his taste and judgment may, or rather must, necessarily discover in the following work; however the writer hath endeavoured, by a painful and laborious application, to avoid the guilt of any essential omissions. And he may possibly appear to have a better claim to this indulgence, when it is considered from what a variety of authors the following history is collected; and that his materials lie detached, and dispersed through so many of the great writers of antiquity: which were to be collected with care, united with propriety, and reconciled, where they disagreed, with truth, or at least with the appearance of probability: a task which required attention and accuracy, and other still higher accomplishments.

Theopompus, an historian cotemporary with Philip, collected a large and copious account of this prince's actions, of which time hath unhappily deprived us. The fragments of this historian, which Athenaeus hath preserved (if genuine) confirm the representations, which we find in ancient writers, of the severity and acrimony of Theopompus. Possibly, the corruption of those with whom Philip contended, as well as many

parts of this prince's conduct, (whatever greatnefs of foul, or elevation of genius, he poffeffed) might have juftly merited this feverity. Had we not been deprived of his work, or even if Photius had tranfmitted to us the plan and general heads of his hiftory, poffibly we might have had many particulars both to admire and cenfure in this hero, which are now buried in eternal oblivion.

DIODORUS Siculus, in his fixteenth book, hath given an abftract of the hiftory of PHILIP, collected, not only from Theopompus, but fome other antient writers, whofe names only have defcended to us. His detail is frequently interrupted by the hiftory of the affairs of Sicily; fo as, in fome fort, to diftract the attention of the reader, by the variety of objects. But this cannot fo properly be cenfured as a fault, fince the fcheme of his hiftory was general; and, whatever errors or omiffions may be difcovered in his account of PHILIP's actions, by comparing him with other writers, yet we muft juftly acknowledge our obligations to him, both as an hiftorian, and as an accurate chronologer.

TROGUS Pompaeus intitled his univerfal hiftory, Hiftoria Philippica, either in imitation of Theopompus, or from a particular veneration for the king of Macedon. "Although he hath employed" (faith Olivier,

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an author of whom we ſhall immediately give ſome account) " but three books in reciting the actions of " this prince; yet he was perſuaded that theſe gave a " new appearance to the affairs and intereſts of the " world. And, in effect, the empires formed on the " ruins of that of Alexander, owe their foundation to " men trained up and taught by PHILIP. It is to be " preſumed, that Trogus preſerved many particulars " which his abbreviator hath neglected. There is " even a literal proof that this latter did not value " himſelf on his accuracy. Among ſome antient ma- " nuſcripts is found a ſummary of the Philippic hiſ- " tory, called Periochae Trogi: from which it appears, " that Juſtin hath not contented himſelf with reverſing " the order of facts, with omitting ſeveral eſſential ones, " and adding others; but that he hath related ſome, " in a manner totally different from his author."—If this be ſo, it affords an additional reaſon to juſtify the author of this work, in ſometimes neglecting, and ſometimes controverting, his authority.

AND, if Juſtin endeavoured to diffuſe ſome portion of the ſpirit and acrimony of Demoſthenes into the hiſtory of Trogus, Paulus Oroſius hath proceeded ſomewhat farther. His point was to prove, that the miſeries and enormities of the pagan world exceeded thoſe which mankind felt, from the time that Chriſtianity

was

was firſt propagated: and his zeal to ſupport his argument hath rendered his account of PHILIP's actions rather bordering on an invective, than a diſpaſſionate hiſtory: although he hath collected the facts from Juſtin into a ſmaller compaſs, with ſufficient art; and hath been rather more careful to preſerve the order of time.

THOUGH we have no life of PHILIP written by Plutarch; yet in thoſe of Pelopidas, Phocion, Demoſthenes, and Alexander, we have many particulars relative to this prince. And, had ſuch a valuable piece of antiquity deſcended to us, we might have found it rather made up of private anecdotes, calculated for marking out the temper and character of PHILIP, than a regular detail of facts, which might fully explain the whole ſcheme and ſyſtem of his conduct. In the lives of Phocion and Demoſthenes, he ſeems, as uſual, to ſuppoſe the reader already acquainted with the hiſtory of their time, which he relates in ſuch a manner, as that no common reader, who hath not recourſe to other works, can form a clear idea of it: and ſometimes in a manner by no means conſiſtent with other accounts of high authority. A regular and ample comment on his truly valuable Lives, to ſupply his defects, and to correct his inaccuracies as an hiſtorian, might make him to be read with greater ſatisfaction and utility. But, at preſent,

ſent, the reader is to guard not only againſt theſe, but ſometimes againſt his prejudices: at leaſt, critics have attributed his unfavourable repreſentations of PHILIP, in his Lives, to this latter cauſe. In his moral works, however, he frequently does him ſufficient honour. He dwells on his maxims and ſallies of wit, on the inſtances of his condeſcenſion and humanity, with ſeeming pleaſure: and hath preſerved many agreeable anecdotes, which it would have been unpardonable in a modern compiler to paſs over, whatever pains the collecting and introducing them might coſt.

BESIDES the hiſtorians now mentioned, we are conſiderably indebted to others of the antient writers, from whom many particulars are collected relative to the preſent ſubject. Such are Athenaeus, Strabo, Pauſanias, Lucian, AElian, Polybius, Seneca, Pliny, and others. But the greateſt lights, the ampleſt ſupplement to the omiſſions and defects of hiſtory, are furniſhed by the noble and valuable remains of the great Athenian orators. And here the author muſt beſpeak all the candor of the learned reader, in judging of the uſe he hath made of their materials. They were undoubtedly the moſt capable of giving the cleareſt and moſt authentic account of affairs, in which they themſelves had ſo conſiderable a ſhare. Yet, in aſcertaining the force and extent of their teſtimony, in diſtinguiſhing between truth

truth and artifice, between the real or probable ſtate of facts, and the repreſentations of a vehement, impaſſioned, and perhaps intereſted ſpeaker, judgment, and ſagacity, and attention, are required: and here the defects of a writer muſt be particularly obſervable: not to mention the difference of ſentiment which neceſſarily ariſes in ſuch a caſe. If Iſocrates repreſents all the actions and deſigns of PHILIP in the faireſt and moſt advantageous light, the learned and judicious may not be intirely agreed, how far this is to be aſcribed to the inexperience and unſuſpecting honeſty, the benevolence and ſimplicity, of a recluſe rhetorician, unacquainted with the wiles of policy, and the corruptions of the great world. If, on the contrary, Demoſthenes burſts forth into the moſt animated indignation and abhorrence of this prince; if he loads him with the blackeſt imputations; it may not be agreed, how far we are to guard againſt the extravagance of an honeſt zeal, or the artifice of a popular leader. When two great rivals are contending for reputation, power, and all that is valuable in human life, if not for life itſelf, although the diſpute happily furniſhes us with many particulars of their public conduct, as well as that of their cotemporaries; although it hath preſerved many important inſtances of the policy, abilities, ſentiments, and paſſions, of the great actors in that ſcene in which the contending parties were engaged; yet what credit

is

is to be given to their different repreſentations, may ſometimes be thought by no means eaſy to determine, but a matter which may admit of ſome variety in opinion. When two competitors are violent againſt each other; when their moſt momentous intereſts are concerned in the conteſt; when they know that ſucceſs depends in a great meaſure on the preſent impreſſion made on the paſſions and imaginations of their judges; they muſt have more than ordinary integrity, if they are not tempted to paſs the bounds of truth and juſtice. And the contentions between Demoſthenes and AEſchines have diſcloſed ſome particulars, which render the integrity of both at leaſt ſuſpicious. Even in their repreſentations of facts, which might be ſuppoſed not ſo liable to fallacy and deception, we are often embarraſſed by the weight of contradictory evidence, and tempted to believe, that they ſometimes aſſerted, with a deliberate purpoſe of deceiving. Of this I ſhall take the liberty of laying before the reader one among many inſtances.

In that oration of Demoſthenes, in which he accuſes AEſchines of corruption and miſconduct in his management of a treaty which the Athenians concluded; in order to load his rival with public odium, he relates a particular incident highly to his diſhonour; and dwells upon it with all poſſible aggravations, and all the appearance of truth and ſincerity. He ſays, that, during his reſidence in

Macedon, he (AEſchines) was invited to an entertainment by one of his friends: that, in the courſe of the feſtivity, a woman was introduced, a native of Olynthus, a city which had been in alliance with Athens, which PHILIP had lately ſubdued, and whoſe inhabitants were now generally in a ſtate of ſlavery. This woman, ſaith Demoſthenes, was treated with the liberty which her preſent diſtreſſed condition ſeemed to allow, not with the decorum due to her former fortune. As ſhe was not yet inured to ſeverities, ſhe expreſſed her uneaſineſs and reſentment; which ſo provoked AEſchines, and ſome other gueſts, that, with unparalleled barbarity, they called in an attendant ſlave, who was ordered to laſh her without mercy; and would have put her to death, had it not been for the interpoſition of one man, to whom ſhe flew, imploring his protection; and who, with great difficulty, ſaved her from their drunken rage.—This the orator inſiſteth on as notorious; declares that it had raiſed the utmoſt indignation in Arcadia and Theſſaly, where it had been commonly ſpoken of; and offers to produce Diophantus, an Athenian of ſome eminence, as a witneſs to the truth of a fact, with which this citizen was well acquainted, and which he had before mentioned in the aſſembly.—One would imagine that nothing could be aſſerted more plauſibly, and with a greater appearance of truth and candor. Yet, when AEſchines comes to make his defence, we find him aſſerting, that the bare

bare mention of this had raiſed the utmoſt fury and indignation againſt the falſe accuſer; that Demoſthenes had actually attempted to ſuborn one Ariſtophanes, a native of Olynthus, to bear teſtimony to his malicious falſehood; that Ariſtophanes had rejected the infamous propoſition with horror; and, to atteſt the truth of all this, he produces the evidence not only of this Olynthian, but of two citizens of Athens.—Other paſſages may be obſerved in both the rival orators, which afford good reaſons for receiving their teſtimony with all due caution. If the author ſometimes appears to be determined to one particular ſide, and to aſſume the repreſentations of one of the parties as authentic; it would be preſumption to expect that the ſentiments of the learned reader, who examines his authority, muſt be ever exactly conſonant to his: and, if he ſometimes contents himſelf with relating the different repreſentations of the orators, without attempting to decide between them, this is a method which the hiſtorians of times and actions leſs remote and obſcure are ſometimes obliged to purſue.

THE orator Ariſtides, who lived about five hundred years after the death of PHILIP, made two orations againſt this prince, which are yet preſerved. They are written in the character of an ambaſſador ſuppoſed to be ſent to Thebes, to engage this ſtate to unite with

the Athenians againſt Macedon. Had the oration which Demoſthenes really delivered on this occaſion been preſerved, it might have afforded many illuſtrations of the hiſtory of his time, as well as many noble proofs of his art and power of ſpeaking. But the topics on which Ariſtides enlarges, are common and well known; and ſcarcely any new materials can be extracted from him.—His abilities, as an orator, it is not to the preſent purpoſe to examine.

GEORGE Gemiſthius Pletho, a modern Greek, wrote a continuation of the hiſtory of Xenophon down to the death of PHILIP; a work ſufficiently accurate and well connected. Had he read thoſe authors which are now loſt, it might have been of conſiderable uſe; but his materials are taken intirely from writers well known, Diodorus Siculus and Plutarch: and therefore we are not to expect any new lights from him, or any information which may not be as well obtained by drawing from the ſame ſources.

THE modern compilers, who have treated this part of antient hiſtory, are perhaps already well known to the reader. Monſieur Tourreil, in his learned preface to his Tranſlation of the Philippic Orations of Demoſthenes, propoſes to ſupply the loſs of Theopompus, by collecting and uniting together the ſcattered remains of PHILIP's hiſtory.

hiſtory. But his collection is by no means ſuited to ſo magnificent a promiſe. It is confined within the compaſs of a very few pages, and is by no means ſo perfect and accurate as that of the learned Puffendorf, who hath given us ſhort but excellent and exact heads of this prince's actions, in the ſecond of his *Diſſertationes Academicae ſelectiores*, intitled, *de Rebus geſtis Philippi*.

THE labours of Rollin, on this ſubject, deſerve great commendations, whatever inadvertencies or omiſſions may be found in them. The nature of his work did not permit him to give it the full extent, which he himſelf thought that it merited; as appears by his wiſhing that ſome modern would undertake it particularly, and collect all the ſcattered remains of antiquity relative to the hiſtory of PHILIP. The ſame may be ſaid of the authors of the UNIVERSAL HISTORY, who, in their account of this prince, have diſcovered taſte, judgment, and learning, amidſt ſome leſs material errors, and ſome omiſſions, which might have been avoided, even conſiſtently with their plan.

WHAT Monſieur Rollin wiſhed to be executed, was undertaken by one of his countrymen, Claude-Matthieu Olivier, a native of Marſeilles, and Member of the Academy of Belles Lettres of that city: and ſome time after this writer's death, which happened in the year 1736, his

his work was publiſhed in two ſmall volumes, under the title of *Hiſtoire de Philippe*, &c. : a work to which the author muſt acknowledge himſelf greatly indebted, and whoſe publication makes it neceſſary for him to offer ſomething in juſtification of his preſent attempt.

OLIVIER appears plainly to have employed great aſſiduity in making his collection of materials, nor hath he diſcovered leſs genius and judgment in uſing them. It is ſaid that his attention to this work haſtened his diſſolution : and, unhappily, his papers fell into the hands of perſons by no means ſo well acquainted with the ſubject of them as the author himſelf. This ſeems to have been the reaſon that his authorities are frequently not quoted at all ; ſcarcely ever with any degree of accuracy ; and, in general, the quotations even ridiculouſly defective and erroneous ; which in a great meaſure defeats the advantages which a ſubſequent writer might derive from his labours. Had this author lived to finiſh and poliſh his hiſtory, a careful reviſal of the writers from whence he drew it, might have ſuggeſted to him many alterations, improvements, and corrections. As it ſtands at preſent, ſeveral inaccuracies appear to have eſcaped him ; many, and ſome material, omiſſions ; authorities ſometimes wreſted from their real and natural purport, or ſtretched beyond their due bounds, together with many faults in his arrangement, where we find the order of

facts

facts and actions disturbed and reversed. Some of these imperfections the reader will find occasionally pointed out in the following history: by which he will judge, whether the author hath been severe in his censure, or rash in dissenting from Olivier; of whom he speaks with greater freedom, as he apprehends that a writer is not intirely accountable for the faults of a piece, to which he hath not put the last finishing hand. But there is one objection to be made to the whole tenor of this writer's history, and that is an objection which lies against most biographers: I mean, a strong prejudice and partiality in favour of his hero. "Unhappily" (saith he) "for the reputation of PHILIP, the city which opposed "his designs with most obstinacy, was that which gave "birth to the greatest orators of Greece: so that many "know PHILIP only as a prince, against whom Demosthenes delivered the master-pieces of eloquence."— The design of Olivier, therefore, was to form an *apology* (as he himself speaks) for this prince. And how far he was transported by his zeal, appears remarkably in his ingenious comparison between PHILIP and Alexander; in which his love to his hero hath betrayed him into some violations of historical truth, and even into some contradictions to his own history. The author's first intention was to have added this comparison, as well as that of Tourreil, between PHILIP and Caesar, to the present work; but, upon reflection, he resolved

rather

rather to deprive his hiſtory of theſe ornaments, than ſeem to take too great freedoms with the labours of other writers.

And, if the obſervations he hath now made on the French writer do not exceed the bounds of truth and candor, it cannot be deemed preſumption, that he was not diſcouraged, by his work, from the purſuit of a deſign, undertaken ſome time before he had been made acquainted with it. At the ſame time that he hath endeavoured to give this hiſtory a greater extent and copiouſneſs than Mr. Olivier hath beſtowed on the ſubject, to avoid his errors, and to ſupply his omiſſions; he freely acknowledges the aſſiſtances he hath received from his learning and judgment; and, if at any time, in the courſe of this work, he hath neglected ſuch acknowledgment, he hopes that this declaration will free him from all ſuſpicions of ſo deſpicable a crime as plagiariſm. He is not conſcious of attempting to impoſe on the public by a tranſlation, or even a paraphraſe, of the French hiſtory. He hath followed the author of it, where this author himſelf followed the beſt leaders; he hath quitted his guidance, where he had any fears of being miſled.

As to the importance and uſefulneſs of the ſubject itſelf, the learned reader is not to be informed of theſe: and,

and, as to the manner in which he hath treated it, nothing that might be here ſaid could excuſe or attone for its defects. From the nature of the work, it is impoſſible that every part of it can be equally intereſting and engaging. The judicious reader will be determined by the whole, and then pronounce equitably and candidly.—To prepare him for the peruſal of the following hiſtory, in which the council of Amphictyons acts ſo conſiderable a part, it ſeemed neceſſary to lay before him the nature and conſtitution of this famous body. Of theſe he will find a general account preſented to his view, in the form of a Preliminary Diſſertation; which is prefixed, not ſo much for the ſake of refining on thoſe learned men who have already treated of this ſubject, as to ſave the trouble of turning to other books.

I CANNOT cloſe this preface, without acknowledging my obligations to thoſe who have been kind enough to think my application to this ſubject merited their favour and encouragement. I am bound particularly to declare, that I owe the warmeſt and ſincereſt gratitude to the friendſhip of the Reverend Doctor SAMUEL MADDEN, a name which muſt be ever honoured and revered in *Ireland*, while it feels the happy effects of his extraordinary zeal and generous public ſpirit. That proof of his favourable ſentiments and regard to me, which is annexed to this work, I have the utmoſt reaſon to apprehend will do

more honour to the ardor of his benevolence, than to his true diſcernment of merit. I can only ſay, that had it been in my power to ſuppreſs it, the public ſhould never have known how far he was influenced by the partiality of friendſhip. For I apprehend that he muſt have more than an ordinary ſhare of ſelf-ſufficiency, who can liſten to the flattering ſuggeſtions of thoſe, whoſe affection will not permit them to view his faults with ſeverity, at the time when he is on the point of being expoſed to the accurate and judicious examination of the learned. But, whatever may be the fate of the author and his performance, he muſt ever reflect, with pride and pleaſure, that he had an opportunity of declaring thus publicly, that there is *another perſon*, by whom he hath been highly and particularly obliged; and that this work was undertaken at the deſire, and introduced to the world by the favour and patronage, of the generous friend to every uſeful and ornamental art, every attempt to improve or pleaſe mankind, the Right Honourable JAMES Lord Viſcount CHARLEMONT.

PRELIMINARY DISSERTATION

ON THE

Council of AMPHICTYONS.

ANTIENT Greece was inhabited by people, whoſe origin and language were the ſame; but their manners, cuſtoms, inſtitutions, and forms of government, in many reſpects, totally different [A]. Yet, amidſt this diverſity, their general principles were alſo the ſame, an ardor for liberty, and a ſtrict regard to the public good. "The Grecians," ſaith the learned

[A] Licebat Athenis eodem patre natam uxorem ducere, uterinam vero in matrimonio habere non ſolum nefarium erat, verum etiam inceſtuoſum: contra, Lycurgus, qui Lacedaemoniis, populo finitimo, leges tulit, germanarum inceſta eſſe conjugia voluit, uterinarum conſuetudinem indulſit. Rurſus huic populo quem ultimo memoravi, in uſu et moribus fuit, ea quae pro legibus obſervarent, non literis, ſed memoriae mandare: in illo autem viciſſim, ex legibus non ſcriptis jus dicere, cum capitis periculo conjunctum eſſe videbatur. Nemo erat Thebis Boeotiis tam nobilis imp. qui non et gratia et laude dignum duxit ſcienter tibiis canere, et pari eſſe in muſicis ac in bellicis fama: contra, ab Athenienſium moribus haec omnia aberant, et partim infamia, partim humilia atque ſervili homine digna habebantur. TAYLOR. Com. ad Marmor Sand. p. 53.

Boſſuet. Diſc. ſur l'Hiſt. Univ. Tom. 8. p. 285.

Biſhop of Meaux, " were naturally poſſeſſed of genius and valour, " which were timely cultivated by thoſe kings and colonies which " came from Egypt, who, by ſettling early in ſeveral parts of " Greece, ſpread through the whole country the excellent polity of " the Egyptians. Hence were learned the exerciſes of the body, " wreſtling, racing on foot, on horſeback, and in chariots, and all " the other exerciſes which were brought to perfection by the glo- " rious prizes of the Olympic games. But Greece derived ſtill more " important advantages from the Egyptians, that of wiſe laws and " inſtitutions; that of being taught a rational ſubmiſſion and ame- " nable deference to rightful power; that of being formed to a juſt " conception and ſtrict attention to the public intereſt. Its particular " inhabitants did not confine their regards to their own private affairs. " They did not conſider public difficulties merely as they affected " their own tranquillity, or that of their families; which they were " inſtructed to conſider as parts of a more extenſive body, that of their " ſtate or community. Such ſentiments were conſtantly tranſmitted " from the fathers to their children, who, from their infancy, were " taught to conſider their country as a common mother, to whom " they belonged no leſs than to their natural parents. The word " CIVILITY, among the Grecians, did not barely ſignify that " ſweetneſs and mutual deference which render men ſociable: their " ΑΝΗΡ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΟΣ was the man who conſidered himſelf " as a member of the ſtate; who ſubmitted his conduct to the laws; " who acted intirely under their direction; who conſpired with them " in promoting the general good; without any attempt to incroach " on the rights of individuals, or to violate the juſt equality of citi- " zens in the ſame community. The antient kings, who reigned in " the different parts of Greece, Minos, Cecrops, Theſeus, Codrus, " Temenes, Creſphontes, Euryſthenes, Patrocles, and others, diffu- " ſed this laudable ſpirit through the whole nation. They gained " popularity, not by flattering the people, but by procuring their " good, and eſtabliſhing the juſt authority of law."

A NUMBER of neighbouring ſocieties, thus formed and modelled, became gradually to be conſidered as one body or nation, compoſed of ſo many diſtinct members, all united and connected together by intereſt and affection. As the good of each individual was ſubſervient to that of his community; ſo the good of each community was conſidered as ſubordinate to that of the whole nation. Hence aroſe a ſimilar ſpecies of CIVILITY, if it may be ſo called, which each ſociety owed to the general aſſemblage. Even amidſt thoſe conteſts and diſorders which unruly paſſions, or the accidental claſhing of intereſts, might produce, war had its laws and limitations; the univerſal intereſt of Greece was profeſſedly at leaſt the firſt and greateſt object of attention; the attempt of any ſtate to extend its power beyond the juſt and equitable bounds was conſidered as an injury to Greece in general: juſtice, moderation, equality, were ever ſtrenuouſly inforced, and all military conteſts carried on among the Greeks in a manner ſomewhat ſimilar to judicial controverſies in private ſocieties: and, while it was allowed thus to ſeek redreſs of particular injuries, the general rights of the contending parties were ſecured by the national laws, and demanded a juſt and ſcrupulous attention, even amidſt all the confuſion and violence of arms. Thus the great Athenian orator deſcribes the principles and ſentiments of the Greeks, ſpeaking of the ancient wars of Athens and Sparta: Οὑτω δ' αρχαιως εἰχον, μ αλλον δε ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΣ, ὡσθ' ὑδε χρημαλων ὠνεισθαι παρ ὑδενος ὑδεν· αλλ' ειναι ΝΟΜΙΜΟΝ τινα και προφαση τον πολεμον. *Such was their ſimplicity, or rather their* CIVILITY, (that is, their deference to the general laws of Greece, and their attention to the common good of that nation) *that corruption was never made the inſtrument of their ſucceſs; but they carried on a* LEGAL *and an open war.* Dem. Phil. 3. Sect. 10. Ed. Dub. AEd. Acad. 1754.

WHILE theſe principles preſerved their due vigour and influence, Greece continued a really united body, happy in itſelf, and formidable to its enemies. Many circumſtances contributed to form this union: and many inſtitutions were ſuggeſted, by the ſagacity of ſtateſmen and legiſlators,

legiſlators, to ſecure and confirm it. Of theſe, the famous COUNCIL OF AMPHICTYONS deſerves particular regard; whoſe origin and conſtitution are here to be explained, that the reader may come duly prepared to underſtand the hiſtory now preſented to him, in which this auguſt body makes ſo conſiderable a figure.

THE council of Amphictyons, like other inſtitutions of the ſame kind, was at firſt but inconſiderable; nor did it arrive to its full ſtrength and luſtre but by gradual advances, and in a long ſeries of years. Its firſt origin we are to aſcribe to Amphictyon, the ſon of Deucalion, an antient king of Theſſaly, as the authority of the Arundelian Marbles warrants us to determine. Their teſtimony is full and explicit, and, on account of the high antiquity of this monument, deſerves particular attention.— Αμφικτυων Δευκαλιωνος εβασιλευσεν ἐν Θερμοπυλαις, και συνηγε λαους περι τον ὁρον οἰκουντας, και ωνομασεν Αμφικτυονας, και Πυλαιαν, οὑπερ και νυν ἐτι θυουσιν Αμφικτυονες.— "Amphictyon, the "ſon of Deucalion, reigned at Thermopylae, and collected the "people bordering on his territory, and called them Amphictyons, "and *the aſſembly* Pylaea, in the place where the Amphictyons ſa-"crifice to this day." * Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, in the fourth book of his Roman Antiquities; Theopompus, as quoted by Harpocration on the word Αμφικτυονες; and Androtion, an antient writer quoted by * Pauſanias in his deſcription of Phocis; all concur with the Marbles of Paros, in aſcribing the inſtitution of this council to Amphictyon. Dionyſius indeed makes him the ſon of Hellen, the ſon of Deucalion. But to this we may juſtly oppoſe the authority abovementioned, as well as that of Philoponus, in his treatiſe on the Greek Dialects. Androtion aſſerts, that the convention was at firſt held at Delphi, and compoſed only of thoſe who lived in the neighbourhood of this city, and who were called not from Amphictyon, but Αμφικτιωνες, *the neighbouring inhabitants.* But to this again we muſt oppoſe the high authority of the Marbles, which ſeems to be confirmed by the names Πυλαια and Πυλαγοραι, by which the council

and

Prideaux. Mar. Ox. p. 160. Ed. Ox. 1676.

* p. m. 230.

* p. m. 323. Ed. Franc. fol. 1683.

and its members were ever called, in whatever place they were convened in ſucceeding times.

THE intention of Amphictyon, in inſtituting this aſſembly, was, that the children of Deucalion, who, at his deceaſe, divided the kingdom between them, ſhould have a common tribunal, to which they might appeal in all private conteſts; and a council, in which they might concert all meaſures neceſſary for their defence againſt their foreign enemies. And for theſe purpoſes, beſides thoſe laws by which each particular city was governed, he enacted others of general force and obligation to all, which were called Amphictyonic laws. By means of theſe, ſaith * Dionyſius, the people, thus united, continued in ſtrict and mutual amity; regarded each other as real brethren and countrymen; and were inabled to annoy and ſtrike terror into their barbarous enemies. Thermopylae was the limit which divided the territories of Amphictyon and Hellen, the two brothers; here, therefore, they built a temple to Ceres at the common charge, near the mouth of the river AEſopus, in which the members of the Amphictyonic council aſſembled to offer their ſacrifices, and to conſult about their common intereſt, twice in every year, in ſpring and autumn; and hence the names Πυλαια ἐαρινη και μετοπωρινη, the vernal and autumnal convention.

* in loc. cit.

Prideaux. Not. ad Chron. Mar. p. 122.

THE aſſembly, thus formed, was at firſt but ſmall, being wholly compoſed of thoſe people whom Deucalion had commanded, and who, from his ſon Hellen, were called ΕΛΛΗΝΕΣ. The Dorians and Ionians, who were deſcended from the poſterity of this Hellen, as yet had no being; nor were any of the Peloponneſians now accounted Hellenes, but were called Pelaſgi; nor were they diſpoſed to unite with the ſons of Deucalion, by whom they had been deprived of Theſſaly, and all that part of Greece which lay beyond the iſthmus. As Greece improved, and the Hellenes increaſed in number, new regulations became neceſſary: and accordingly we find, that, in ſome

Ibid.

time

time after the original inſtitution, Acriſius, king of Argos, when, through fear of Perſeus, (who, as the oracle declared, was to kill him) he retired into Theſſaly, obſerved the defects of the Amphictyonic council, and undertook to new-model and regulate it; extended its privileges; augmented the number of its members; enacted new laws, by which the collective body was to be governed; and aſſigned to each ſtate one ſingle deputy, and one ſingle voice, to be enjoyed by ſome, in their own ſole right; by others, in conjunction with one or more inferior ſtates: and thus came to be conſidered as the founder of this famous repreſentative of the Hellenic body.

Strabo. L. 9. p. m. 420. Ed. Amſt. 1707.

FROM the time of Acriſius, the Amphictyons ſtill continued to hold one of their annual councils at Thermopylae, that of autumn. But it was now made a part of their function (and, in time of peace, became the moſt conſiderable part of it) to guard and protect the national religion. The vernal aſſembly therefore was held at Delphi, the great ſeat of the Grecian religion; the object of univerſal veneration; whither all people, Greeks and Barbarians, reſorted, to ſeek the advice and direction of the famous Pythian oracle. The immenſe quantity of wealth, the number of rich votive offerings, which the ſuperſtition of ſo many ages and nations had laviſhed on the temple, demanded the exacteſt care and moſt vigorous protection. The prodigious concourſe which attended there, at particular ſeaſons, naturally produced many conteſts, and required a well regulated polity, and the frequent interpoſition of a reſpectable and powerful juriſdiction. The Delphians themſelves were intruſted with the poſſeſſion and general guardianſhip of the temple: they attended intirely on the ſervice of the god, and were ſolely employed in the ceremonials of his religion: they were accounted in ſome ſort ſacred; the prieſts, the attendants, and as it were the family, of Apollo. So they are called by Lucian (in Phalarid. 1.) ἱεροι τε και παρεδροι τυ Πυθιυ, και μονοι συνοικοι και ὁμοροφιοι. But although they enjoyed certain powers and privileges with reſpect to the temple, and could even grant ſome honours and favours

Dem. de Coron. Sect. 51. Ed. Foulke & Freind.

Van Dale Diſſertat. de Conc. Amph.

favours to particular perſons, ſuch as that of the Προμαντεια, or right of precedence in conſulting the oracle, as appears from an imperfect inſcription preſerved by Spon and Wheeler, and quoted by Van Dale [B]: yet ſtill were they ſubject to the inſpection and juriſdiction of the Amphictyons, who were the great conſervators and protectors of the ſhrine; and who, beſides their general care, appointed certain of their members, either by lot or rotation, to preſide over the temple; an honour which, according to Van Dale, was alſo called by the name Προμαντεια.

THE times of aſſembling we have ſaid were two in each year. The following hiſtory however affords an inſtance of the Amphictyons aſſuming a power of aſſembling oftener, on ſome extraordinary emergencies. But this ſeems to have been a corruption introduced by time, or the power of particular parties; and as ſuch we ſhall find it condemned and diſcountenanced. Here, however, we are to diſtinguiſh between the Συνεδριον Αμφικτυονων, the regular aſſembly formed of thoſe deputies only who had a right to vote, and who had theſe ſtated times of meeting; and the Εκκλησια, which muſt be here explained.

[B] The inſcription according to SPON:

....ΑΔΕΛΦΟ
.....ΑΝ. ΠΑΤΡΟΝΑ
....ΕΥΔΟΡΩΙ
....ΤΑΡΧΟΣ. ΒΟΙΩΤΟΙΣ.
...ΤΑΝΑΓΡΑΣ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ.
ΕΓΓΟΝΟΙΣ. ΠΡΟΞΕ
.....ΠΡΟΜΑΝΤΕΙΑΝ.
ΕΛΕΙΑΔΑΣΥΛΙΑΝ.
ΠΡΟΕΔΡΙΑΝ. ΠΡΟΔΙΚΙ....
ΑΝ. ΕΠΙΤΙΜΑΝ. ΚΑΘΑΠΕΡ.
....ΔΕΛΦΟΙΣ. ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ.
ΘΟΙΝΙΩΝΟΣ. ΒΟΥΛΕΥ
...Ν ΓΩΝ. .....ΣΩΠΟΔΟΡΟΥ.
...ΡΑΚΛΕΙ ....ΑΔΑΜΟΤ.....

AEſch. in Cteſ. Sect. 39. Vallois. Diſſert. ſur les Amph. Vol. 3. Mem. des B. L. p. 207.

Whenever or wherever the council of Amphictyons was aſſembled, a great concourſe attended from all parts of Greece; to ſhare in the public games and ſpectacles which this council inſtituted and ſuperintended; and to expoſe their wares and merchandizes to public ſale. Theſe Greeks were always allowed to be preſent in the aſſembly, to obſerve the conduct of their repreſentatives, to aſſiſt, direct, and inſtruct them. When the council met at Delphi, the concourſe was ſtill farther increaſed, by the numbers who came to conſult the oracle, among whom were many perſons reſpectable by their ſtations and characters; and particularly the Θεωροι, or men commiſſioned to repair to Delphi by each ſtate, together with its Amphictyons, in order to conſult the oracle, to offer ſacrifices, and to aſſiſt in religious rites. All theſe perſons were not only permitted to be preſent in the council, but on extraordinary occaſions were ſummoned to attend. Thus an aſſembly extraordinary was ſometimes formed of the uſual and ordinary Amphictyonic deputies, and theſe additional numbers, called Εκκλησια. The learned Vallois is perſuaded that thoſe Greeks, which attended on the ſervice of the gods, are marked out by the words το κοινον των Αμφικτυονων, which occurs in one of the decrees quoted by AEſchines. And, if ſo, they ſeem not to have been excluded from voting in ſuch extraordinary aſſemblies; all reſolutions were at leaſt paſſed in their name, as well as in that of the ordinary Amphictyons. Εδοξε τοις Πυλαγοραις και τοις συνεδροις των Αμφικτυονων και το ΚΟΙΝΩ ΤΩΝ ΑΜΦΙΚΤΥΟΝΩΝ. "It is decreed by "the Pylagorae and aſſeſſors of the Amphictyons, and the commu-"nity of Amphictyons."

Ibid. p. 226.

Dem. de Coron. Sect. 51.

THE alterations, made in the council of Amphictyons at different times, ſeem to have occaſioned the difference in hiſtorians as to the number and names of the people who had a right to ſend repreſentatives to that aſſembly. Agreeably to the diſpoſitions made by Acriſius, twelve cities only were inveſted with this right, according to Strabo. AEſchines and Theopompus alſo confine it to twelve people, whom

whom the * orator calls, not πολεις, cities, but ἔθνη, a word denoting a collection of ſeveral particular communities. † Pauſanias alſo calls them γενη, a term of like ſignification.

* AEſchin. de falſa Leg. Sect. 36. Ed. Brooke.
† in loc. cit.

THE AMPHICTYONIC PEOPLE

According to AEſchines.	*To Theopompus.*	*To Pauſanias.*
THESSALIANS	IONIANS	IONIANS
BOEOTIANS	DORIANS	DOLOPES
DORIANS	PERRHAEBEANS	THESSALIANS
IONIANS	BOEOTIANS	AENIANS
PERRHAEBEANS	MAGNETES	MAGNETES
MAGNETES	ACHAEANS	MALEANS
LOCRIANS	PHTHIOTES	PHTHIOTES
OETEANS	MALEANS	DORIANS
PHTHIOTES	DOLOPES	PHOCIANS
MALEANS	AENIANS	LOCRI EPICNEMIDES.
PHOCIANS	DELPHIANS	
	PHOCIANS	

AESCHINES, we ſee, enumerates but eleven; yet he aſſerts the number to be twelve. By which it ſeems probable, that ſome copyiſt was guilty of an omiſſion, in leaving out one name, poſſibly that of the Dolopes. The Oeteans, in his liſt, are the ſame with the AEnians in the others, who were ſo called, from their vicinity to mount Oeta. And, amidſt all this diverſity of repreſentation, we may perceive there are ſome people whom all acknowledge as members of this council. Theſe are the Ionians, Dorians, Magnetes, Phthiotes, Phocians, and Maleans. Difference of times and circumſtances might have produced many alterations; but the general intention of this aſſembly, and the invariable object of all its modellers and directors, was to form a compleat repreſentative of all Greece; and accordingly it is

called by Demoſthenes το κοινον των Ἑλληνων Συνεδριον, and by Cicero, who exactly tranſlates him, commune Graeciae concilium.

WE are not therefore to imagine, that the twelve principal cities in the ſeveral diſtricts, only, continued to ſend their deputies to the Amphictyonic council, (whatever might have been the caſe in earlier times) or that the twelve ΕΘΝΗ were ſo many diſtinct and ſeparate ſocieties, which had a right to ſend juſt twenty-four deputies (for the number of deputies from each ſtate was doubled in ſome time after Acriſius.) Each of theſe diſtricts, on the contrary, contained a number of Amphictyonic ſtates, each of which, either by themſelves, or in conjunction with others, had an equal right of ſending their repreſentatives. This cannot be better illuſtrated, and, at the ſame time, more fully proved, than by quoting the paſſage from * AEſchines, to which we are indebted for this information: Κατηριθμησαμην δ' εθνη δωδεκα τα μετεχοντα τυ ἱερυ· Θετταλυς, Βοιωτυς, ὐ Θηβαιυς μονους, Δωριεας, Ιωνας, Περῤῥαιβυς, Μαγνητας, Λοκρυς, Οιταιυς, Φθιωτας, Μαλεεῖς, Φωκεῖς· και τυτων ἐδειξα ἑκαστον ἐθνῳ ἰσοψηφον γενομενον, το μεγιστον τω ἐλαττονι, τον ἡκοντα ἐκ Δωριυ και Κυτινίυ ἰσον δυναμενον Λακεδαιμονιοις, δυο γαρ ψεφυς ἑκαστον φερει ἐθνῳ, παλιν ἐκ των Ιωνων τον Ερετριεα και Πριηνεα τοις Αθηναιοις, και τυς ἀλλυς κατα ταυτα. "I enumerated the twelve people who had a right to ſhare "in the guardianſhip of the temple; the Theſſalians, the Boeotians, "(not the Thebans alone) the Dorians, Ionians, Perrhebaeans, "Magnetes, Locrians, Oeteans, Phthiotes, Maleans, Phocians. Of "theſe I ſhewed that each particular ſtate had an equal right of ſuf-"frage, the leaſt with the greateſt; the deputies of Dorium and of "Cytinium the ſame with the deputies of Lacedaemon: two voices "to each ſtate: and again, of the Ionians, the Eretrian and Prie-"nean deputy an equal power with the Athenian: and ſo of the "reſt."

* de falſa Leg. Sect. 36.

WE

We find a remarkable paſſage, in the life of Themiſtocles by Plutarch, which exactly agrees to this. The hiſtorian relates, that the Lacedaemonians endeavoured to have all thoſe cities excluded from the Amphictyonic council, that had refuſed to unite in the war againſt the Perſians; and that Themiſtocles, who conceived this to be a ſcheme for throwing the whole power of the council into the hands of the Lacedaemonians, oppoſed it ſtrenuouſly, and prevailed on the pylagorae to reject the propoſition: διδαξας ὡς τριακοντα και μια μοναι πολεις εἰσιν αἱ μεταχουσαι του πολεμου, και τουτων αἱ πλειυς παντα-πασιν μικραι· δεινον οὐν εἰ της ἀλλης Ελλαδος ἐκσπονδου γενομενης, ἐπι ταις μεγιϛαις δυσιν ἢ τρισι πολεσιν ἐϛαι το Συνεδριον: *ſhewing that but one and thirty ſuch cities had ſhared in the war; and of theſe moſt were very ſmall; ſo that it would have alarming circumſtances, if the reſt of Greece ſhould be excluded from the council, and ſo the whole influence of it devolve to two or three principal cities.* Here, then, we find, that one and thirty cities made but a part of this council in the time of Themiſtocles. Non credo, ſaith * Van Dale, quod omnes iſtas XXXI civitates tunc ſingulas jus illud ſuffragii reverà poſſediſſe, ſed id voluiſſe Themiſtoclem, ut, ſi hae omnes iſtud jus obtinerent, reliquas non poſſe excludi, quod aeque civitates Graeciae eſſent. "I do "not believe, that every ſingle city of theſe thirty one really en-"joyed the right of ſuffrage: but that the meaning of Themiſtocles "is this, that, if they were all to be admitted to ſuch a right, the "others could not be excluded, as theſe were equally ſtates of "Greece." But where is the difficulty of believing what the hiſtorian aſſerts, and what is ſufficiently confirmed by collateral evidence? The queſtion was not whether any new right ſhould be conferred on the cities which had joined in the war, but whether the others ſhould be deprived of the right which they had before enjoyed. A few lines above the paſſage quoted, we have this ſentence: Φοβηθεις μη Θετταλυς και Αργειυς ἐτι δε Θηβαιους ἐκβαλλοντας του Συνεδριου. κ. τ. λ. *apprehenſive leſt if the Theſſalians and Argians and Thebans ſhould be excluded from the aſſembly*, &c. But it is plain the Argians and Thebans

* Diſſert. de Conc. Amph.

Thebans ſat in the council, as members, the one of the Dorian, the other of the Boeotian body. Again, we find the Athenian orators ſpeaking of an Amphiſſæan, an Arcadian, a Pharſalian, as haranguing and acting in the Amphictyonic council: which cannot be naturally accounted for, but by ſuppoſing them to have been the repreſentatives of certain Amphictyonic ſtates which the twelve general diſtricts contained, all of which had an equal right of being repreſented. This might be thought a point too well eſtabliſhed to require to be enlarged upon, if the writers upon this ſubject had not either abſolutely denied it, or admitted it only with certain limitations and reſtrictions.

* Not. in Chron. Mar. p. 124.

* Prideaux, for inſtance, aſſerts that no more than twenty-four members ſat in this council: but how can this be reconciled with the declaration of AEſchines, that Dorium, Cytinium, Prienea, Eretria, had each two voices as well as Lacedaemon and Athens? Again, Van Dale ſuppoſes that the principal ſtates only ſent their deputies conſtantly, while the inferior cities were admitted to this privilege, at ſome particular times, which were determined by rotation. But it may be doubted whether this ſuppoſition can be thoroughly reconciled to that equality of power and ſuffrage, that ισοψηφον, which AEſchines

* in Phoc. ut ſup.

ſpeaks of. In the time of * Pauſanias indeed, ſuch a regulation obtained as Van Dale mentions; and certain inferior cities were allowed only to ſend repreſentatives by turns, (as we ſhall hereafter have occaſion of obſerving:) but this ſeems to have been a new regulation, which had not obtained in any former times, but was eſtabliſhed on modelling this council in a new manner.

We ſee, then, how this famous council was formed. The whole nation of Greece was divided into twelve diſtricts or provinces: each of theſe contained a certain number of Amphictyonic ſtates, or cities, each of which enjoyed an equal right of voting and determining in all affairs relative to the general intereſt. Other inferior cities were dependent on ſome of theſe, and, as members of their community, were alſo repreſented by the ſame deputies: and thus the aſſembly

bly of the Amphictyons became really and properly the repreſentative of the whole Hellenic body: το κοινον των Ἑλληνων Συνεδριον.

THIS idea of the Amphictyonic council may poſſibly ſerve to explain a remarkable paſſage in * Diodorus Siculus, which the interpreters and commentators ſeem to give up as totally inexplicable. It is in that decree which the Amphictyons made againſt the people of Phocis, at the concluſion of the famous ſacred war. One article of which runs thus: Των δ' εν Φοκευσι τριων πολεων περιελειν τα τειχη, και μεθεμιαν κοινωνιαν εἰναι τοις Φοκευσι τυ ἱερυ, μηδε τυ Αμφικτυονικου Συνεδριου. Utque trium in Phocide urbium moenia deſtruantur; nec templi deinceps, et Amphictyonum curiae Phocenſes ſint participes. The word τριων ſeems ſo very difficult to be explained, that it is ſuſpected to be an interpolation: but, even upon this ſuppoſition, it is obſerved by the commentators, that the article cannot be reconciled to another in the ſame decree, which imports, not that the cities of Phocis, or three cities of Phocis, ſhould be diſmantled, but that all the Phocian cities ſhould be razed to the ground. The article, now quoted, I would tranſlate in this manner: "That the walls of THE "three cities of the Phocians ſhall be pulled down; and that the "Phocians ſhall have no farther communication with the temple, "or the aſſembly of the Amphictyons." By THE THREE cities, ſo called by way of eminence, I would underſtand the three Amphictyonic cities of Phocis, or at leaſt the three Amphictyonic cities which had ſhared in the guilt of ſacrilege. The oath which each deputy in this council was obliged to take (as we ſhall immediately find) forbad the deſtruction of any one of theſe cities. Out of reſpect therefore to this oath, and to the right which theſe Amphictyonic cities of Phocis formerly enjoyed, I ſuppoſe that a diſtinction was made between theſe three, and the Phocian cities in general: and that, while the reſt were totally demoliſhed, their walls only were pulled down. And that ſuch a diſtinction was really made, and that, while a great number of cities in this ſtate were razed

* Lib. 16. Sect. 60. Ed. Amſt. 1746.

razed to their foundations, ſome were ſuffered to continue, appears from this, that, ſome years after this decree, Elataea, one of the cities of Phocis, was accounted a poſt of ſuch conſequence, that all Greece was thrown into the greateſt conſternation when Philip king of Macedon poſſeſſed himſelf of it. And this interpretation not only reconciles the two articles of the decree, which were deemed repugnant to each other, but alſo explains the addition of the ſecond clauſe in that now quoted, *and that the Phocians ſhall*, &c. which muſt otherwiſe appear not ſo natural at leaſt, if not difficult to be accounted for.

EACH of thoſe cities, which had a right to aſſiſt in the Amphictyonic council, was obliged to ſend its deputies to every meeting; and the number of theſe deputies was uſually and regularly two: the one entitled hieromnemon, to whom was particularly intruſted the care of religion and its rites. His office was annual, as appears from ſeveral decrees, in which his name is joined with that of the Athenian archon επωνυμος; and he was appointed by lot. The other deputy was called by the general name pylagoras, and was choſen by election for each particular meeting. Each of theſe deputies, however differing in their functions, enjoyed an equal power of determining all affairs relative to the general intereſt. And thus the cities which they repreſented, without any diſtinction or ſubordination, each gave two voices in the council of the Amphictyons, a privilege known by the name of the DOUBLE SUFFRAGE; which term, ſo frequent in the antient writings, is thus fully explained, without any refinement or difficulty. But, although the number of deputies ſeems to have been ſettled originally ſo as to anſwer to the number of votes which each city was allowed, yet, in proceſs of time, we find, that, on ſome extraordinary occaſions, the principal cities aſſumed a power of ſending more than one pylagoras to aſſiſt in a critical emergency, or to ſerve ſome purpoſe of a faction. Thus we ſhall find, in the following hiſtory, that the Athenians, at one particular time, nominated three pylagorae,

Suidas, Harpocration, et al.

Dem. de Coron. Sect. 51. Ariſtoph. in Nub. Dem. in Finoc. AEſchin. in Ctef. Sect. 30.

pylagorae, Midias, AEſchines, and Thraſicles. Prideaux aſſerts, that Demoſthenes alſo was joined with theſe; and ſpeaks with ſome ſeverity of thoſe who deny it. And yet poſſibly ſome arguments might be brought to diſprove this aſſertion, if, notwithſtanding the poſitive manner in which it is advanced, it was not ſufficiently diſcredited by coming intirely unſupported by any authority. But, in all caſes where the leading cities took the liberty of enlarging the number of their deputies, though ſuch procedure might ſerve to increaſe their ſecret influence, yet their power of voting continued the ſame. This was exactly aſcertained, without any regard to differences of grandeur or power in the different ſtates. Each enjoyed two voices, the leaſt as well as the greateſt; they who ſent but two deputies, and they whoſe affairs required a greater number.

WHEN the deputies, thus appointed, appeared to execute their commiſſion, they in the firſt place offered up their ſolemn ſacrifices to the gods; to Ceres, when they aſſembled at Thermopylae; when at Delphi, to Apollo, Diana, Latona, and Minerva: and, before they entered on their function, each deputy was obliged to take an oath, which AEſchines hath preſerved, or at leaſt ſome part of it; and which was conceived in theſe terms:

"I SWEAR that I will never ſubvert any Amphictyonic city: AEſch. de fal. Leg. Sect. 35.
"I will never ſtop the courſes of their waters either in war or peace.
"If any ſuch outrages ſhall be attempted, I will oppoſe them by
"force of arms, and deſtroy thoſe cities who may be guilty of ſuch
"attempts. If any devaſtations ſhall be committed in the territory
"of the god; if any ſhall be privy to ſuch offence, or entertain any
"deſign againſt the temple; I will make uſe of my feet, my hands,
"my whole force, to bring the offending party to condign pu-
"niſhment."

To render this oath ſtill more ſolemn, the following awful imprecations were ſubjoined:

AEſchin. in Ctef. Sect. 36.

" If any one ſhall violate any part of this ſolemn engagement, " whether city, private perſon, or country, may ſuch violators be " obnoxious to the vengeance of Apollo, Diana, Latona, and Mi- " nerva the provident. May their lands never produce their fruits: " may their women never bring forth children of the ſame nature " with their parents, but offſprings of an unnatural and monſtrous " kind: may they be for ever defeated in war, in judicial controver- " ſies, and in all civil tranſactions; and may they, their families, " and their whole race, be utterly deſtroyed: may they never offer " up an acceptable ſacrifice to Apollo, Diana, Latona, and Minerva " the provident; but may all their ſacred rights be for ever rejected."

As the hieromnemon was particularly intruſted with the affairs of religion, the dignity of his function gave him a ſuperiority over the pylagoras, who appears to have been obliged to pay him ſome kind of deference and ſubmiſſion. There is a paſſage in * AEſchines which ſeems to warrant this: Πεμψαμενου δε ὁ Ιερομνημων ἠξιου με εἰσελθειν εἰς το Συνεδριον, και εἰπειν τι περος τους Αμφικτυονας ὑπερ της πολεως, κ. τ. λ. " The hieromnemon ſent for me, and ſignified his directions " that I ſhould go into the aſſembly, and ſpeak to the Amphictyons " in behalf of the ſtate, &c." But this doth not fully prove that it was the peculiar province of the pylagoras to ſpeak in the council, as M. de Vallois ſuppoſes: for, at this particular time, the hieromnemon was ſick; and we may as well ſuppoſe that his directions to AEſchines were occaſioned by his preſent inability of appearing and ſpeaking, as that it was not a part of his office and power to ſpeak in the council. Indeed the principal weight of buſineſs ſeems to have fallen on the pylagorae, who, as they were choſen by election, were generally men of abilities; and from this cauſe ſeem to have become the ſpeakers (οἱ πεμπομενοι ἀπο των πολεων εἰς Αμφικτυονιαν ῥητορες. " Men

* in Ctef. Sect. 38.

" ſent

" ſent from the ſeveral ſtates to the Amphictyonic council as " ſpeakers," as Suidas calls them) rather than from any particular power annexed to their office. As the hieromnemons, on the contrary, were appointed by lot, this office muſt have ſometimes devolved on men unacquainted with public buſineſs, and unſkilled in politics. And, when intrigue and corruption began to prevail in the Amphictyonic council, many inconveniencies muſt have ariſen from this. Artful ſtateſmen, and factious leaders, by affecting an high veneration for their authority, by alarming them with the real or pretended dangers to which religion was expoſed, abuſed their honeſt, though miſguided, zeal; and made them the dupes of their craft and policy. Thus we find * Demoſthenes complaining, το μελλον ου προορωμενους τυς Ιερομνημονας πειθει ψηφισασθαι, κ. τ. λ. " He per- " ſuaded the hieromnemons, who did not foreſee the conſequences, " to vote, &c.

* de Coron. Sect. 49.

IT was the peculiar privilege of one of the hieromnemons to preſide in the council. He collected the votes; he reported the reſolutions: he had the power of convening the Εκκλησια, or general convention; (as we learn from * AEſchines: Κοτλυφος ὁ τας γνωμας επιψεφιζων, εκκλησιαν εποιει των Αμφικτυονων. " Cottyphus, who collected the " voices, convened a general aſſembly of the Amphictyons.") His name was prefixed to every decree, together with his title, which was that of ſovereign pontiff or prieſt of Apollo. Of this * Demoſthenes furniſhes us with ſome inſtances: Επι Ιερεως Κλεινα γορου, εαρινης Πυλαιας εδοξε τοις Πυλαγοραις, κ. τ. λ. " In the pontificate of Clina- " goras, the vernal aſſembly, it is decreed by the pylagorae, &c." This honour of preſiding doth not ſeem to have been a privilege granted to power or grandeur, or to have been confined to the deputy of any one ſtate. We find in the Athenian orators, that Cottyphus, the preſident of the council, was the deputy either from Arcadia or Pharſalia, places of inferior note. It ſeems probable, therefore, that the hieromnemon of each Amphictyonic ſtate enjoyed this power in

* in Cteſ. Sect. 39.

* de Coron. Sect. 51.

rotation. Such ſeems to be the language of the following antient inſcription taken from Gruther, p. 129 and 1021, (if the inſcription be copied accurately:)

ΘΕΟΙΣ.

ΕΠΙ. ΑΡΙΣΤΑΓΟΡΑ. ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ. ΕΝ.
ΔΕΛΦΟΙΣ. ΠΥΛΑΙΑΣ. ΗΡΙΝΗΣ. ΙΕΡΟ
ΜΝΗΜΟΝΥΟΝΤΩΝ. ΑΙΤΟΛΩΝ. ΠΟ
ΛΕΜΑΡΧΟΥ. ΑΛΕΞΑΜΕΝΟΥ
ΔΑΜΩΝΟΣ.

But, whatever honours might have been annexed to the office of hieromnemon, the real equality of power was ſtill ſcrupulouſly obſerved; and even all appearances of ſuperiority, all forms of ſpeaking or writing, that might point out any difference between the members of the council, avoided with particular delicacy and politeneſs. Of this we have an inſtance in the form of an Amphictyonic decree, as it is explained by M. de Vallois: Εδοξε τοις Πυλαγοραις, και τοις Συνεδροις των Αμφικτυονων, και τω κοινω των Αμφικτυονων. "It is "decreed by the pylagorae, and *the other* aſſeſſors in the Amphictyonic "council, and by the community of the Amphictyons." By the Συνεδροις, according to this author, muſt be underſtood the hieromnemons, as the council was compoſed only of the two orders. Here, then, we find the hieromnemons named after the pylagorae. And the reaſon ſeems to him to be this: The office of the former was to collect the votes, to pronounce the decrees, and to reduce them to writing. To name themſelves in the firſt place would have been a violation of that decorum to which the Greeks ever carefully adhered; and, at the ſame time, their prerogative was to be preſerved. They therefore choſe to ſubſtitute the term Συνεδροι, in the place of their

Dem. ut ſupra.

their title Ιερομνημονες, in order to preſerve the reſpect due to their collegues, and, at the ſame time, not to derogate from the honour annexed to their own rank. As to the laſt clauſe, το κοινον των Αμφικτυονων, it hath been already explained.

SUCH was the conſtitution of this famous Grecian council. As to the diſputes of particular perſons, it was accounted beneath the dignity of the Amphictyons to take cognizance of them. Nor do we hear of any private man ſummoned to appear, or condemned in this aſſembly, except Ephialtes, who, when the Spartans poſſeſſed themſelves of Thermopylae, under the command of Leonidas, conducted the Perſians over the Oetean mountains into Greece. But all offences againſt religion, all inſtances of impiety and profanation, all conteſts between the Grecian ſtates and cities, came under the particular cognizance of the Amphictyons, who had a right to determine, to impoſe fines, and even to levy forces, and to make war on thoſe who preſumed to rebel againſt their ſovereign authority. The antient writings afford us ſeveral inſtances of the interpoſition of this their authority, ſome of which it may not be improper to lay before the reader. Prideaux. Not. in Chron. Marm. p. 125.

AFTER the famous naval victory at Salamis, where Themiſtocles deſtroyed the fleet of Xerxes; and the battle of Plataea, in which the Perſians received a total overthrow by the arms of Greece, conducted by Pauſanias the Spartan, and Ariſtides the Athenian; the Greeks conſecrated a golden tripod to Apollo, in acknowledgment of two ſuch ſignal ſucceſſes. Pauſanias, who was choſen to depoſit this offering, from an arrogant ambition of immortalizing his own glory, and that of his country, aſſumed to himſelf the whole honour of this offering, and inſcribed the following verſes on the tripod: Demoſth. in Neaer.

Ελληνων αρχηγος, επει στρατον ωλεσε Μηδων
Παυσανιας Φοιβῳ μνημ' ανεθηκε τοδε.

" Pauſanias, general of the Greeks, when he had deſtroyed the army

" of

" of the Medes, dedicated this memorial of his victory to Apollo." The people of Plataea, who had contributed conſiderably to the ſucceſs, conceiving a juſt indignation at this procedure of Pauſanias, ſummoned the Lacedaemonians to appear before the Amphictyons, who condemned them to pay a fine of a thouſand talents to the confederates, who had been injured and inſulted by this inſcription. It doth not appear whether or no this fine was rigidly exacted: but it is certain that the Lacedaemonians were obliged to efface this inſcription, and, in the place of it, to ſubſtitute the names, not of the Plataeans only, but of all the confederate cities, which contributed to the expence of the votive tripod, and the ſucceſs which had occaſioned this offering to be made. Thucydides indeed, towards the end of his firſt book, and from him Plutarch, at the end of his treatiſe on the Malignity of Herodotus, aſſerts that the Lacedaemonians voluntarily effaced this inſcription, when they had been informed of the general indignation with which the Greeks received it. But ſuch a confeſſion of their fault doth not ſeem to agree with the fierce and haughty temper of this people; and the implacable reſentment, with which they purſued the Plataeans, ſeems an argument of the reluctance with which, on this occaſion, they ſubmitted to a ſuperior authority.

Vid. Taylor. Comment. ad Marm. Sand. p. 19.

ANOTHER inſtance of the power and authority of the Amphictyons appears in the conteſt between the Athenians and Delians, concerning the patronage of the temple of Apollo in Delos. This iſland had long acknowledged the juriſdiction of the Athenians, who aſſumed the whole care of the temple, which Eryſicthon, the ſon of Cecrops, was ſaid to have erected; and, in many inſtances, exerciſed a tyrannic power over the inhabitants. About the end of the Peloponneſian war, the Delians made ſome ineffectual remonſtrances againſt the injuſtice of the Athenian claim to the property of their iſland, and the guardianſhip of their temple; but, in the hundred and ſeventh, or hundred and eighth Olympiad, they brought their cauſe before the Amphictyonic council, encouraged poſſibly by the enemies of

of Athens. On this occaſion Hyperides was, by the interpoſition of the Areopagites, appointed to defend the right of his country, and delivered his famous Deliac oration; and probably with ſucceſs, though the antients do not particularly inform us of the event of this diſpute. Dem. de Coron. Sect. 42.

PLUTARCH, in the life of Cimon, takes notice of the inhabitants of the iſland Scyros being fined by the Amphictyons, for a violation of the law of nations, in plundering thoſe who brought merchandizes into their own port.

THE ſame author, in the concluſion of his treatiſe intitled Κεφαλαιων καταγραφη Ελληνικα, hath recorded, that, at a time when certain of the Peloponneſians were deputed to repair to Delphi, in order to conſult the oracle, in their way they ſtopped at Megara, and diſpoſed themſelves, with their wives and children, in their carriages, in order to paſs the night. The Megareans, with a brutal inſolence and cruelty, which were partly the effects of drunkenneſs, overturned theſe carriages into an adjacent lake, by which ſome of the Peloponneſians were drowned. This was an outrage which particularly demanded the interpoſition of the Amphictyons, as religion was affronted by the violation of the reverence due to the perſons and commiſſion of theſe Peloponneſians. This council therefore exerted its authority, and inflicted ſevere puniſhment on the Megareans; condemning ſome capitally, and baniſhing others who had not ſhared ſo largely in the offence.

QUINCTILIAN informs us, (in his fifth book and tenth chapter de Inſt. Orat.) that, when Alexander demoliſhed Thebes, he there found an authentic record, by which it appeared that the Thebans had lent two hundred talents to the Theſſalians: and that, in conſideration of the ſervices he had received from the Theſſalian cavalry, he cancelled the deed. When Thebes had been reſtored by Caſſander, this

this ſtate demanded the repayment of the loan; and brought its ſuit before the council of the Amphictyons.

CICERO (de Inventione, L. 2.) relates, that the Thebans, having gained a victory over the Lacedaemonians, inſtead of ſetting up a ſlight trophy, which might continue but for a time, according to the antient moderation of the Greeks, erected one of braſs, and were accuſed of this inſolent attempt to perpetuate the memory of Grecian diſcord, before the council of the Amphictyons.

THESE two laſt inſtances indeed may poſſibly have been no more than fictions, invented by the teachers of oratory, as ſubjects for declamation, in order to exerciſe their ſcholars. The power of this council is however fully proved by the other examples, and much more by thoſe religious wars which were undertaken by their authority, and which the reader will find related at large in the following hiſtory.

WHILE the generous principles, on which this illuſtrious body was firſt formed, continued to preſerve their due vigour, the Amphictyons of conſequence were reſpectable, auguſt, and powerful. When the nation itſelf began to degenerate, its repreſentative of courſe ſhared in the general corruption. Selfiſh, luxurious, and venal conſtituents committed the care of their intereſts to men who gratified their paſſions, with an intent to abuſe the truſt repoſed in them. We find that, in the time of Philip, the popular leaders, in one particular ſtate, were ſo totally loſt to all ſenſe of decency, that they openly avowed their proſtitution and corruption, which were made a matter of mirth to their fellow-citizens. And, as the degeneracy was in a great degree univerſal through Greece, it ſeems highly probable, that moſt of thoſe, who were deputed to ſit in the council of the Amphictyons, came prepared to earn the wages of iniquity, and to devote themſelves intirely to the ſervice of a crafty and enterprizing prince, who

Dem. Phil. 3. Sect. 8.

who could pay them liberally, without regard to their own honour, the intereſt of their community, or the general good of Greece. And the natural and neceſſary conſequences of ſuch depravity were weakneſs and contempt.

THE decline of this council we may therefore date from the time when Philip king of Macedon began to practiſe with its members, and prevailed to have his kingdom annexed to the Hellenic body. It continued, however, for ages after the deſtruction of Grecian liberty, to aſſemble and to exerciſe ſome remains of its authority. Not only the Phocians, but the Lacedaemonians, and all the Dorians, are ſaid by * Pauſanias to have been excluded from the council at the concluſion of the ſecond ſacred war. The Phocians, however, afterwards recovered their ſeat by the ſervices which they performed in defence of Delphi, when that city was beſieged by the Gauls. When Auguſtus, the Roman emperor, had built Nicopolis, in honour of his victory at Actium, he ordered that this new city ſhould be admitted into the council, and enjoy the power of ſuffrage, which was before poſſeſſed by the Magnetes, Maleans, AEnians, and Phthiotes (who were now ordered to unite, and to make one Amphictyonic ſtate with Theſſaly) and by the Dolopes (a people at that time loſt.) In the time of Pauſanias, who lived in the reign of Antoninus Pius, the Amphictyonic cities were thirty; but of theſe the cities of Athens, Delphi, and Nicopolis, only ſent their deputies conſtantly, the reſt at particular times in rotation. But as their care was now intirely confined to the rites of their idolatrous worſhip; and as theſe came to be forbidden in the time of Conſtantine; this famous council of Amphictyons ſeems to have fallen, together with their temple and their religion.

* in loc. cit.

Ibid.

Prid. Not. in Chron. Marm. p. 127.

34 35 36 37 38 39

43 42 41 40 39 38 37 36

ILLYR

GALLIA CISALPINA

ITALIA

MAGNA GRAECIA

SICILIA

DARDANIA

Labeatis Palus

Drilo fl.

Ilyssum Cast.

Lissus

Boreas M.

Bylazora

Pelagonia

Paeoniae pars

Axius fl.

Stobi

Erigon fl.

Epidamnus

Parthium

Illyricae gentes

Dalia

Lychnitis Lac.

Eordea

ÆMATHIA

Lyncestae seu

MACEDON

Elymioti

Aulon

Chaonia

EPIRUS

Buthrotum

Dolopes

Peneus fl.

Thesprotii

Pandosia

Cassiopaea

Molossi

Ambracia

Elatria

Dodone

ACARNANIA

ÆTOLIA

Naupactus

Patrae

ACHAIA

ELIS

Elis

PELOP

Olympia, seu Pisa

Epitus

ARC

Lepreum

Macystus

MESSENIA

Pylus

Pedasus postea

Methone

Barium

Venusia

Brundusium

Tarentum

Hydrus

Chelydnus fluvius

Callipolis

Grumentum

Buxentum

Cosentia

Corcyra I.

Cephalenia I.

Ithaca I.

Zacynthus I.

Echinades I.

Tænarium Pr.

Messana

Catana

Syracus

SICULUM MARE

Sive

ADRIATICUM MARE

IONIUM

ANTIENT GREECE
and the
ADJACENT COUNTRIES
designed
for the HISTORY *of*
Philip King of Macedon.

Scala Stadiorum Mille.

300

40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47

RIS TRIBALLI

duus mons Orbelus mons Hæmus M.

Scupi Philippolis sive Trimontium Hebrus R. Cabyla

PONTUS EUXINUS

Pæonia Pangæus R. Rhodope M. Pangæus M.

THRACIA

Bosphorus Thracius

PÆONIA Doberæ Pæonia gens PÆONII Pæoplæ Odomanti Phagræ Pergamum Mædi Odryſæ

Novem Viæ seu Amphipolis Phillipi Edoni Satræ Bistonis L. Regio Briantica Pæti

MYGDONIA Anthemus Crestonia Sinus Strimonicus Thasus I. Maronea Strymon Lagus R. Dorscus Ænos M. Sacer Selymbria Byzantium Harum

Bottiæi Pella Via Xerxis Acanthus Apollonia Cleonæ Serrium Melanis Sinus Perinthus Heraclea Chalcestra Therma Strymon Samothrace Chersoneſus Proconnesus I.

PIERIA Pydna Olynthus Potidæa Sim. Singiticus Thermaeus Sin. Imbros I. Lemnos I. Ægos Sestos Madytos Abydos Lampsacus Eleus Sigeum Dardanus Grius

Peræbi Peparethus I. Ossa M. Methone Magnesia Halonesus I. Thoia Via Xerxis Ida Mons

Larissa Gonnus Pharsalus Magnetes Pagasæ Sciathus I. Tenedos I. Alexandria Zelia

THESSALIA Othrys M. Halos Sinus Pelion M. Phthiotis Ænianes Pagasicus Antron Thermopylæ Antadrus Adramyttium

ASIA Cilicia

Skiros I. Echinus Oreum Lesbus I. Attarnea MYSIA

LOCRIS Locri Epicnemidii Delphi Elatæa Amphissa Parapotamios Panopeus Hyampolis AEOLIS

PHOCIS Orchomenus Haliartus Cuma Xerxis et

Acrag allidæ Thespiæ Coronæa BÆOTIA Chalcis Tanyra Parthenius Eretria Sardis

Cirrha Tilphossæum Thebæ Oropus Chius I. Smyrna

Sicyon Platææ Maratho Gerestus P. LYDIA

Megara Eleusis Styra Carystus IONIA Agesilai Iter

Corinthus Cephisus

Nemea Salamis ATTICA Athenæ Colophon

Argos Phyle Andros I. Ephesus

PONNESUS Aphidna Cia I. Meander R.

Megalopolis Epidaurus Ægina Icaria I. Samus I. Magnesia

CADIA Tegea Mycenæ Sunium P. Tenos I.

Mantinea Troezen Calauria I. Scyros I.

LACONIA Cythnus Miletus CARIA

Sparta seu Lacedæmon Seriphus Cyclades Delos I. Myconus I.

Taenarus Siphnus Naxos I. Lena I. Halicarnassus Ceramus

Epidaurus Melos I. Claros DORIS

Cos I. seu Nymphæa I. Gnidus

Ios I. Sporades

Cythera I. Thero I. Astypalæa Nisyrus I.

MARE CRETICUM Rhodus I.

Dia I. CARPATHIUM MARE

1000 Gydonia Carpathus I.

CRETA INS

41 42 43 44 45 46

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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

LIFE AND REIGN

OF

PHILIP

KING of MACEDON.

BOOK THE FIRST.

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cations

BOOK I. SECTION I.

CONTENTS.

MACEDON described.—The original settlement of Caranus at Edessa.—He founds the kingdom of Macedon.—The regal power; religion; manners; and original boundaries of his kingdom.—His successors.—Perdiccas the first.—Argaeus.—Amyntas the first.—The deputies of Megabyzus entertained at his court.—Alexander the first.—His merit and abilities.—Perdiccas the second.—His policy.—Original establishment of the united states of Olynthus.—History of Amphipolis.—Archelaus.—His character.—Is killed by Craterus.—Orestes.—AEropus.—Pausanias.—Amyntas the second, father of Philip.—Is supported by Derdas.—Marries Eurydicè.—Defeated by the Illyrians, who establish Argaeus on the throne.—His kingdom exposed to the incursions of Thessaly and Olynthus.—Amyntas resigns the remaining part of his territories to the Olynthians: but is restored by the Thessalians, and reclaims them.—Favoured by a particular event.—The birth of PHILIP. *—Sparta and Macedon unite against Olynthus.—The conduct of Sparta explained.—Eudamidas sent into Thrace.—Phoebidas seizes the citadel of Thebes.—Actions in the Olynthian war.—Death of Teleutias.—of Agesipolis.—Siege of Olynthus by Polistiades.—A peace.—Its effect on the fortune of Amyntas.—His attention to the commotions in Greece.—The citadel of Thebes recovered by Pelopidas.—The restauration of the Athenian power.—Amyntas recommends himself to the friendship of the Athenians, by acknowledging their right to Amphipolis.—The wicked designs of Eurydicè.—Death of Amyntas.—Alexander the second.—Is obliged to pay tribute to the Illyrians: to whom his brother Philip is given as an hostage.—Alexander is killed*

by Ptolomy.—Who is dethroned by Pauſanias.—Pathetic addreſs of Eurydicè to Iphicrates.—Perdiccas.—Diſorders in Macedon.—Pelopidas eſtabliſhes Perdiccas on the Throne.—Philip conducted to Thebes.—Character of Epaminondas.—Education of Philip.—Obſervation of Plutarch.—Philip's excurſions from Thebes.—His firſt interview with Olympias.—Ptolomy raiſes new diſorders in Macedon.—He ſubmits to Pelopidas.—Death of Pelopidas.—of Ptolomy.—Character of Perdiccas.—He oppoſes the Athenians in their attempts to recover Amphipolis.—The truce of Calliſthenes.—Death of Epaminondas.—The effects of this event on Macedon.—Perdiccas defeated, and killed by the Illyrians.—The diſtreſſes of the kingdom.

BOOK I.

THE

LIFE and REIGN

OF

PHILIP King of MACEDON.

BOOK the FIRST.

SECTION I.

THE founder of the Macedonian greatneſs, whoſe actions are to be the ſubject of this hiſtory, was by no means of the number of thoſe princes who were aſſiſted by the advantages of an illuſtrious country, who inherited the opulence and force of ſplendid and extenſive dominions, or were ſtrengthened by the acquiſitions, and animated by the atchievements, of a long train of renowned anceſtry. To his own abilities alone did PHILIP owe his elevation; and appears equally great, and equally the object of admiration, in ſurmounting the difficulties attending on his infant power, as in his maturer and more extenſive fortune. But before we proceed to relate thoſe actions in which his vigour, courage, and policy, were ſo eminently diſplayed; before we attempt to trace his gradual progreſs through all the various obſtacles which ſurrounded him, to that conſummate

mate greatneſs which his ambition preſented as the proper object of his views, and his abilities happily acquired; it will be previouſly neceſſary, to detain the reader for a while, by a brief account of that kingdom which he governed, and of thoſe actions of his predeceſſors, which tend more immediately to illuſtrate THE HISTORY OF PHILIP.

Crophii Antiq. Maced. p. 7.

THE kingdom of Macedon, in its moſt flouriſhing condition, (as a compariſon of the different deſcriptions which antiquity affords directs us to determine) contained all that extent of territory, which lies to the north of Theſſaly and Epirus, ſeparated from the one, by the mountains Pelion, Olympus, and Oſſa; and from the other, by Pindus and the Chaonian mountains. The river Neſſus, and the Egean ſea, divided by three peninſulas, into the Thermaic, Toronaic, Singitic, and Strymonic bays, were its eaſtern boundaries. On the north, the mountains Pangaeus, Hoemus, Orbelus, and Scardus, divided and protected it from the Dardani, Triballi, and Illyrians. On the weſt it was waſhed by the Adriatic and Ionian ſea, extending on that ſide from the river Liſſus, to the Chelidnus, and the entrance into Epirus. Within this tract, the antient geographers recount no leſs than one hundred and fifty different people, who, in the earlier times, lived independent of each other; enacted their diſtinct laws, and adminiſtered their ſeveral governments, while their habit, language, and unpoliſhed manners, were the ſame. Nor did Macedon acquire that extent which hath been deſcribed, but by a ſlow and gradual progreſs, and in a long ſeries of years: when the abilities of that prince, who is the ſubject of this hiſtory, enabled him to reduce all the neighbouring powers; to extend his territories far beyond their antient limits, and to add his country, hitherto obſcure and barbarous, to the renowned body of Greece.

Plin. Hiſt. Nat. L. 4. C. 10.

Pomp. Mela de ſitu Orbis L. 2. C. 3.

CARANUS. Juſtin L. 7. C. 1.

CARANUS, an Argian by birth, and a deſcendant from Hercules in the ſixteenth degree, according to *Velleius, is ſaid to have been the original founder of this kingdom. The difficulties of his family, or his own ambition, determined him to forſake his native country, according to the cuſtom of thoſe early ages, to ſeek ſome new ſettlement, and to create

* L. 1. C. 6.

Juſtin ut ſupra.

create that power and fortune for himſelf, which his native land denied him. At the head of a choſen band of Greeks, whom fortune had obliged, or glory animated, to the undertaking, he marched out, and pierced into the midland part of that diſtrict which hath been deſcribed, then called Emathia; and encamped in the neighbourhood of Edeſſa its capital. On a ſudden, the ſky was overcaſt, a great ſtorm aroſe, and a herd of goats was obſerved to fly for ſhelter to the city. The oracle was ſaid to have promiſed, that "goats ſhould conduct him to his "ſettlement:" the preſent accident recalled this prediction to his mind; and, thus encouraged, his men flew after theſe their deſtined leaders; and ſurprized Edeſſa. In commemoration of this event, Caranus, now lord of the city, changed its name to AEgae: and goats, which are called by that name among the Greeks, were appointed the enſigns of his army, and of his new country. The neighbouring people ſoon roſe up in arms to oppoſe this new ſettlement, but proved unequal to Caranus and his valiant Greeks. * Pauſanias, in his deſcription of Chaeronea, records a tradition, which hath been thought worthy to be obſerved, as it is an inſtance of the manner by which maxims and cuſtoms come to be eſtabliſhed in kingdoms, and of which poſterity frequently find it difficult to aſſign a reaſonable cauſe. Among other princes, againſt whom Caranus was obliged to turn his arms, he attacked Ciſſaeus, the ſovereign of a ſmall territory, ſouth of his new kingdom, and having defeated him, erected a trophy according to the Grecian cuſtom. An enormous lion, which hunger had brought from a foreſt in the neighbourhood of mount Olympus, fell on this trophy, overturned and demoliſhed it. This the conqueror underſtood as a warning from heaven to treat the vanquiſhed with a juſter moderation, inſtead of inſulting and irritating them by thoſe monuments of their defeat. From that time, therefore, it became an eſtabliſhed rule never to erect a trophy, and was obſerved as a maxim of ſtate by his ſucceſſors. But whether Philip and Alexander paid a ſtrict attention to this maxim, as the author abovementioned aſſerts, may come to be conſidered hereafter.

* In Boeot. p. 315. Univ. Hiſt. Fol. Vol. 3. p. 271.

FROM

FROM hence forward Caranus ſought to gain the affection of the neighbouring nations, and to reconcile them to his government, rather than to oppreſs or to extirpate them. In their defence, or to repel a danger which threatened his ſettlement, he is ſaid, by the abbreviator of Trogus, to have drove out Midas king of Phrygia, who had poſſeſſed himſelf of ſome part of the adjacent territory: and thus having gradually reduced or perſuaded the ſeveral neighbouring ſtates to a ſubmiſſion, he laid the firſt foundations of the Macedonian empire*.

Juſt. L. 7. C. 1.

*An. M. 4387. according to Euſeb.

THE adventurers, who attended Caranus, muſt have had that valour which the enterprize demanded: his new ſubjects were poſſeſſed of the ſame virtue, the moſt obvious and ſtriking proof of merit among a barbarous and unpoliſhed people, and neceſſary in a diſordered age of violence and bloodſhed. The king boaſted a deſcent from an illuſtrious hero, the deity of the warlike, and patron of hardy and brave atchievements. Valour therefore naturally became the great diſtinguiſhing character of this new kingdom, and was neceſſarily cultivated and encouraged, as the qualification eſſential to its very being.

THE principles of civil government which Greece had taught, her ſons adopted; and, in all the inſtitutions which the preſent ſettlement demanded, a juſt attention was paid to the ſubject's liberty and welfare. Though the form was monarchical, yet the regal power was circumſcribed. The king governed according to the exacteſt rules of natural equity; ſo that the Macedonians, ſaith *Arrian, preſerved as great, or greater liberty, than was enjoyed under moſt of the Grecian commonwealths: and Lucian, in his dialogue between Philip and Alexander, calls them freemen. This was the original conſtitution; nor was it ſubverted but with the kingdom. In war the king, though abſolute in his command, was yet obliged to treat his ſoldiers with tenderneſs and affection; in peace he adminiſtered juſtice, and heard and redreſſed the grievances of his ſubjects in perſon. The preſent hiſtory will afford inſtances of this cuſtom; and the hiſtorian *Livy aſſures us, it was obſerved by Perſeus, the very laſt of the royal race of Macedon. The

* L. 4.

Crophius p. 39, 40.

*L. 41. C. 20. L. 42. C. 67.

lives

lives of the people were by no means at the diſpoſal of their king: nor even to their lateſt times could a Macedonian be regularly and legally put to death, until his ſentence was confirmed by the people in time of peace, or by the army in the field. [A]

Curt. L. 6. C. 8, 25. Polyb. L. 5. C. 27.

THEIR religion was alſo borrowed from Greece, with all its rites and ceremonies. Jupiter their protector, Hercules the founder of the royal race, and Diana the goddeſs of hunting, the ſport of the manly and robuſt, were held in particular honour by the Macedonians, as appears from many of their coins. Manners, cuſtoms, and inſtitutions, were alſo eſtabliſhed, to inſpire reſolution in the mind, and to give vigour and ſtrength to the body. [B]

THUS was the kingdom of Macedon ſo modelled by the principles of equity, juſtice, and moderation, in the prince, and valour, and national loyalty, in the people, as to promiſe happineſs and ſtability; but in its infancy was ſurrounded by many ſecret or avowed enemies, many jealous and wavering allies and dependents, equally ſuſpecting or ſuſpected. On the weſt lay the Lynceſtae and Elimiotae; on the north the Pelagonians, Eordians, and Edonians; the Bottieans and Pierians on the eaſt; and on the ſouth the Magnetes and Dolopians. Moſt of theſe people had their particular ſovereigns, who acknowledged their dependence on Caranus and his ſucceſſors, or roſe up in arms againſt them, according to the different viciſſitudes of their fortune and power.

AMONG the earlier kings of Macedon, Perdiccas, the firſt of the name, ſeems to have been a prince endued with abilities, and favoured

PERDICCAS I.

[A] De capitalibus rebus vetuſto Macedonum modo, inquirebat exercitus: in pace erat vulgi: nihil poteſtas regum valebat niſi prius valuiſſet auctoritas.

CURTIUS in loco citat.

[B] THUS we learn from Athenaeus (L. 1. p. 18.) that among the Macedonians no one was admitted to lie down at ſupper, until he had killed, with his ſpear, a wild boar, in hunting. And thus Ariſtotle (de Rep. L. 7. C. 2.) hath recorded, that every Macedonian, who had not yet killed his enemy, was obliged to wear a kind of collar, as a mark of his noviciate in military affairs.

Herod. L. 8. C. 137.

by fortune. His hiſtory is obſcured by the ſhade of fiction, a circumſtance, which ſhould perſuade us that he had real merit, and that his actions, which we find magnified and diſtorted by fable, were really worthy of being faithfully recorded, as they were thought worthy of exerciſing the imaginations of the early writers. The fame of his predeceſſors was ſo far loſt in the ſplendor of his reputation, that he is accounted by * Herodotus the firſt of the Macedonian kings. When full of days he is ſaid to have ſhewed to his ſon Argaeus the place where he wiſhed to be interred, and where, he likewiſe directed, that, in all ſucceeding ages, the bodies of all the royal race ſhould be depoſited; declaring, that till this cuſtom was aboliſhed, there ſhould not want one of his line to ſit upon the throne. And hiſtorians have been ſuperſtitious enough to ſuppoſe, that this prediction was accompliſhed by the interment of Alexander in Babylon.

* in loco cit.

Juſt. L. 9. C. 2.

ARGAEUS.

ARGAEUS, the ſon of this prince, together with his immediate ſucceſſors, are only diſtinguiſhed by the wars in which they were engaged with the Illyrians, the old and inveterate enemy of the Macedonian power, and other neighbouring nations. Theſe continual wars confirmed the valour of his people, improved their diſcipline, and extended their reputation: yet checked and awed on one hand by the ſeveral ſtates of Greece, who exerted their increaſing power, and endeavoured to extend their dominions, both by ſea and land; terrified and controuled on the other, by the new erected empire of Aſia, formed by the junction of the Median and Perſian power in the perſon of Cyrus; and, at the ſame time, ſurrounded by ſecret enemies, or avowed rivals; the abilities of the Macedonian princes, and the valour of their ſubjects, ſeem to have been for a long time exerted rather for the defence, than the enlargement of their boundaries.

Ibid.

AMYNTAS I.

AT the time when Darius was obliged to make an ignominious retreat into Aſia, after his Scythian expedition, he left Megabyzus in Europe with a large army, in order to make ſuch conqueſts as might retrieve the honour of his arms, and conceal the late diſgrace. In purſuance of his

Herod. L. 5. C. 17.

his inſtructions, this general ſent his ambaſſadors to all the neighbouring nations to demand earth and water, the marks of ſubmiſſion and vaſſalage. Amyntas, who then reigned in Macedon, received the ſummons; and readily conſented to acknowledge his ſubjection to a power ſo vaſtly ſuperior to his own. The Perſian emiſſaries were entertained with all the magnificence which his court could diſplay; and, at their deſire, the Macedonians ſo far complied with the Aſiatic manners, that women were introduced to add to the feſtivity. The indecent freedoms with which theſe were treated by the Perſians, inſolent in their acknowledged ſuperiority, and enflamed by wine, were beheld with ſilent grief by king Amyntas, but by his ſon Alexander with a livelier and more dangerous indignation. He deſired leave for the women to withdraw, under pretence of preparing for the entertainment of theſe gueſts, and in their places introduced as many youths, diſguiſed in female habits, who inſtantly returned the lewd careſſes of the Perſians, by plunging their daggers in their hearts. And when Megabyzus ſent Bubaris, one of his principal officers, to enquire after the ambaſſadors, the young prince contrived to elude the enquiry, by captivating Bubaris with the charms of his ſiſter. With her the Perſian wedded; the maſſacre was paſſed over in oblivion; and the Perſian court acknowledged the Macedonians as faithful and honourable allies. C. 21.

ALEXANDER had ſucceeded to his father's throne, when Xerxes invaded Greece. The alliance made with an illuſtrious and powerful Perſian, ſecured him from all the dangers of this invaſion, and gained him a peaceful poſſeſſion, and even an [c] enlargement of his territories. ALEXANDER Juſt. L. 7. C. 4.

[c] THE earlier ſtate of this kingdom, and the gradual enlargement of it, which was partly the work of this Alexander, will be diſtinctly conceived by attending to the following paſſage of Thucydides.—Τῶν Μακεδονων εισι και Λυγκηςαι και Ελειμιῶται, και αλλα ἐθνη ἐπανωθεν, ἃ ξυμμαχα μεν ἐςι τετοις και ὑπηκοα, βασιλειας δ' ἐχει καθ' αὑτα. Τὴν δὲ περι θαλασσαν νυν Μακεδονιαν, Ἀλεξανδρος ὁ Περδικκα πατηρ, και οἱ προγονοι αυτυ Τημενιδαι το αρχαῖον ὀντες ἐξ Ἀργυς πρωῖοι ἐκῆησαντο, και ἐβασιλευσαν, ανασησανῖες μαχῃ ἐκ μεν Πιερινς Πιερας. ——Ἐκ δε τῆς Βοτῖιας καλυμενης Βοτῖιαιυς, οἱ νυν ὁμοροι χαλκιδεων οἰκῦσι. Τῆς δε Παιονιας παρα τον Ἄξιον ποταμον, γενην τινα καθηκυσαν ἄνωθεν μεχρι Πελλης και θαλασσης ἐκτησανῖο· και περα Ἄξιυ, μεχρι Σῖρυμονος, την Μυγδονιαν καλυμενην, Ἠδωνας ἐξελασανῖες, νεμονῖαι. Ανεσησαν δε και ἐκ τῆς

Nor doth hiſtory attribute the proſperity of his kingdom, more to the protection of Perſia, than to the virtues and abilities of Alexander himſelf, which were known and celebrated through Greece. When a youth, he had paſſed over into that country to learn and practiſe thoſe arts which were eſteemed ornamental and honourable. He appeared at the Olympic games, amidſt the robuſt and accompliſhed champions and competitors for glory: whence the national pride of the aſſembly would have removed him as a foreigner and barbarian. But the prince boldly
Herod. L. 5. C. 2. aſſerted his right of aſſiſting at thoſe famous games, as being by deſcent an Argian, and was admitted even to contend in the exerciſes, and bore away the prize from thoſe who had deſpiſed him as unworthy of ſharing in the Grecian entertainments. A prince of genius and renown, admired in Greece, beloved and revered in his own kingdom, and reſpected by the Perſians, both on account of his own virtues, and his ſiſter's marriage, was eſteemed by Mardonius as a fit ambaſſador to negotiate a ſeparate peace with Athens, that he might thus weaken the force of Greece. In this negotiation, though the propoſitions were rejected with

τῆς νῦν Ἐορδίας καλεμενης Ἐορδης. (ὧν οι μεν πολλοι διεφθαρησαν, βραχυ δε τι αυτῶν περι Φυσκαν καλῶκηται) και ἐξ Αλμωπιας, Ἀλμωπας. Ἐκραΐησαν δε και τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν οι Μακεδονες ὅτοι, ἃ και νῦν ἔτι ἔχουσι, τον τε Ἀνθεμῦντα και Γρηϛωνιαν και Βισαλτιαν, και Μακεδονων αὐτῶν πολλην. Το δε ξυμπαν Μακεδονια καλειται, και Περδικκας Ἀλεξανδρυ, βασιλευς αὐτῶν ἦν, ὅτε Σιταλκης επηει. In the general name of Macedonians, are comprized the Lynceſtrians and Helimiotians, and other nations lying upwards, allied to, and dependent upon, the reſt, yet governed as diſtinct kingdoms. The dominion over the maritime Macedonia, was firſt obtained by Alexander, father of Perdiccas, and his anceſtors the Temenidae, who derived their original from Argos. Theſe, by a ſucceſful war, had driven the Pierians out of Pieria.—From the region called Bottia, they alſo expelled the Bottiaeans, who now live upon the confines of the Chalcideans.

And further, they ſeized in Paeonia, near the river Axius, a narrow tract of land running along from the mountains down to Pella and the ſea; and got poſſeſſion of that which is called Mygdonia, lying between the Axius and the Strymon, by driving away the Edonians. They expelled the Eordians out of what is now called Eordia (of whom the greateſt part were deſtroyed, but a ſmall number dwell now about Phyſca;) and out of Almopia, the Almopians. Theſe Macedonians alſo conquered other nations, of which they are ſtill in poſſeſſion, as Anthemus, Greſtonia, and Biſaltia, and a large part of the territories belonging to the other Macedonians. But this whole tract of country hath the general name of Macedonia: and Perdiccas, ſon of Alexander, reigned over them, when Sitalces formed his Invaſion. SMITH.

a diſdain

a diſdain which hiſtory hath recorded with wonder and applauſe, yet the ambaſſador himſelf was acknowledged as a friend. And however his preſent intereſt might oblige him to adhere to Perſia, yet a prince of his endowments could not but admire and love the Grecian virtue. He ſoon after diſcovered his real attachments, by informing the Greeks, even at the hazard of his life, of the intentions and motions of Mardonius. [D]

Herod. L. 8. C. 140.

L. 9. C. 43. 44.

HE had three ſons, Perdiccas, Alcetas, and Philip Tharaleus. The firſt ſucceeded to the throne; but his brothers diſputed his pretenſions, and roſe up in arms to diſpoſſeſs him. The neighbouring nations beheld, with envy and diſcontent, the acceſſions of territory which Macedon had received in the reign of Alexander. The Athenians were powerful by their colonies and allies, their dependent towns and diſtricts on the ſea-coaſts; and either to ſecure, or to enlarge their territories, found it convenient to aſſiſt his rivals. Greece was at this time in commotion: the Lacedemonians began to think of eſtabliſhing a power in Thrace; while the Perſians, hitherto the great ſupport of Macedon, were weak and contemptible. A kingdom thus circumſtanced, required a prince of vigour and abilities: and Perdiccas ſeems to have inherited all the virtues of his father. He ſupported himſelf againſt his rivals, and neighbouring enemies: and, by his art and policy, made both Athens and Lacedemon ſerve to ſtrengthen his power, at the time that he appeared, and profeſſed, to aſſiſt them in the eſtabliſhment of their own.

PERDICCAS II.

Thucyd. L. 1.

THE mutual jealouſies ſubſiſting between theſe two ſtates, and king Perdiccas, was one great cauſe of the Peloponneſian war. The actions of this prince, and the ſhare which he bore in the Grecian conteſt, are diſtinctly recorded by Thucydides: here, it is only neceſſary to point out ſome particulars, tending more immediately to illuſtrate the preſent

[D] THIS prince's actions are here related with a brevity which would be unpardonable, were it my preſent purpoſe to give an accurate hiſtory of the earlier ſtate of Macedon. The delightful account which Herodotus gives of theſe tranſactions, will abundantly reward the learned reader, who may turn to the paſſage quoted in the margin.

hiſtory,

hiſtory. At the firſt riſe of the famous Peloponneſian war, the Athenians, as hath been obſerved, had a conſiderable power on the coaſts of Thrace; and controuled the king of Macedon by their tributary and dependent towns and diſtricts, bordering on his territories. All that tract, which lay towards the coaſt between the Thermaic and Singitic Bays, was inhabited by Greeks originally from Chalcis, a city in the iſland Euboea, who all acknowledged the juriſdiction of Athens, afforded that ſtate the convenience of their ports and harbours, and aided and ſecured its commerce with the upper Thrace. But when the Corinthians and Corcyraeans began to quarrel about Epidamnus, and that the Athenians took a part in this conteſt, the Corinthians perſuaded Potidaea, one of the chief towns in the Chalcidian region, to revolt from Athens; while Perdiccas, to revenge himſelf on a people who had ſupported the pretenſions of his competitors, urged the other Chalcidians to abandon their ſettlements on the coaſt, to fortify Olynthus, a city about ſixty ſtadia from Potidaea, built on the river Strymon, and which preſerved a communication with the ſea, by means of the port of Myceberna; to make this their reſidence, and to ſhake off their dependence on the Athenians. His inſtances were ſo far ſucceſsful; that Olynthus was made the chief ſeat of their power; and all the other cities united in intereſt, and governed by this their capital. Such a revolution was conſidered by the Athenians as an outrage on their lawful authority. They declared war againſt the Olynthian confederacy, and laid ſiege to Potidaea. This city was, after ſome difficulties, reduced; but the Chalcidians found means to ſupport their independency, and protracted the war to a conſiderable length. Theſe practices of Perdiccas, however neceſſary and politic at this time, yet in the end proved the means of raiſing up a powerful and dangerous rival to the Macedonians; and had laſting and important effects, both on that kingdom, and on Greece. In the courſe of the diſputes, which thus aroſe, the attack of the famous city of Amphipolis, of which ſo frequent mention muſt be made in the progreſs of this work, is alſo worthy of particular notice.

Thucyd. L. 1.

Luccenſini Not. in Arg. Olyn. 1.

Thucyd. ut ſup.

THIS

THIS city was ſeated on the Strymon, in that narrow gut, where the river divides into two branches, waſhing the town on each ſide, and falling into the ſea at the diſtance of two ſtadia. At the mouth of the principal of theſe branches ſtood Eion, a ſmall town, which ſerved as a port to Amphipolis, and rendered the commerce with the upper Thrace eaſy and convenient. The place where Amphipolis ſtood, was originally called Enneodoi; that is, the nine ways; poſſibly becauſe the roads, which led through Macedon and Thrace, iſſued from that point. Ariſtagoras, of Miletus, attempted to ſettle there, after his revolt from the Perſians; but was prevented by the Edonians, a people of Thrace, who then inhabited that diſtrict. The Athenians, fully ſenſible of the value of its ſituation, took care to aſſert a claim to it, and deduced their title from Acamas, the ſon of Theſeus, who they ſaid received it as a dowry with his wife. Thirty-two years after the attempt of Ariſtagoras, they ſent thither a colony of ten thouſand men, who drove out the Edonians: but attempting to puſh their victory to the upper Thrace, they were ſurrounded, and cut to pieces, by a general confederacy of the people of that country, who ſuſpected the new colony. At length, Agnon, the ſon of Nicias, eſtabliſhed himſelf in this place, with a colony, which the Athenians ſent thither twenty-nine years after their firſt attempt. He expelled the Edonians, and raiſed a fortification round from one arm of the river to the other; ſo that the new ſettlement had now the form of a triangle, whoſe baſe was towards the ſea, and whoſe two ſides were defended by the branches of the Strymon, which was conſiderably deep, and formed a moraſs at the upper angle. Here the Athenians continued peaceable poſſeſſors, till the Peloponneſian war broke out; and Perdiccas ſpirited up the Lacedemonians to carry their arms into theſe parts, and to endeavour to diſpoſſeſs them from a ſettlement of ſuch importance to their commerce; from whence, beſides a large pecuniary revenue, they drew all their materials for building their ſhips; and which he muſt neceſſarily have regarded with uneaſineſs and jealouſy, as it abſolutely commanded his kingdom on that ſide. Hither, therefore, Braſidas, the Lacedemonian general, was now

Thucyd. L. 4.

Olivier Hiſt. L. 1. p. 67.

Thucyd. L. 4.

Eſchin. de falſ. leg. Sect. 14.

Thucyd. L. 4.

Thucyd. L. 4.

now ſent: and partly by force of arms, partly by addreſs, and an equitable attention to the liberty and welfare of the inhabitants, wreſted Amphipolis from the Athenians; who, fully ſenſible of their loſs, and naturally impatient of every diſappointment, baniſhed Thucydides, the famous hiſtorian, who had been unſucceſsful in his attempts to ſecure the city. And when Perdiccas ſhewed ſome inclination to deſert the Lacedemonians, another army was ſent from Athens to recover Amphipolis, under the command of Cleon; which produced the engagement where the general on each ſide fell. The people of Amphipolis in-
L. 5. terred Braſidas in the moſt honourable manner, acknowledged him as their real founder, and demoliſhed all the monuments of Agnon, the ſon of Nicias; yet the city was yielded the next year to the Athenians, by a treaty concluded with Lacedemon, and continued under their juriſdiction, until the deſtruction of their liberties, by the victory of Lyſander.

In all theſe diſputes, Perdiccas had a conſiderable ſhare; and appears to have acted a part, which the intereſt of his own kingdom recommended; but which, by no means, diſcovered a ſtrict and honourable adherence to his engagements.

Archelaus in Gorg. p. 471.

He was ſucceeded by Archelaus, his illegitimate ſon, according to Plato, who ſpeaks with great ſeverity of this prince; the blood which he ſhed, to ſecure the poſſeſſion of his throne, having ſullied thoſe great qualities which he afterwards diſcovered. As his meaſures for fortifying and ſtrengthening his kingdom, alarmed the neighbouring powers;

Diod. Sic. L. 13. Sect. 49.

Pydna, a city of ſome conſequence on his confines, endeavoured, by the aſſiſtance of Athens, to ſhake off its dependence on Macedon. But, in defiance of all the ſupport which that ſtate detached to her new ally, Archelaus beſieged and reduced Pydna to his obedience; and, in order to cut off all future intercourſe between that city and the Athenians, he obliged the inhabitants to remove * twenty ſtadia farther from the ſea.

* About two miles.

But

BUT this prince was for nothing ſo remarkable, as his attachment to learning, and its profeſſors. Socrates was invited to, and Euripides entertained at, his court. Painters were employed to adorn his palace; and men of genius, of every kind, careſſed, rewarded, and encouraged to honour his kingdom by their reſidence. But the advantages which Macedon might have derived from his temper and abilities, were all cut off by his untimely death. Diodorus relates, that he was killed accidentally in a chace by his favourite Craterus. But the repreſentation of * Ariſtotle has been thought more probable, who aſcribes the death of Archelaus to the ambition of Craterus, and his reſentment at being denied his daughter in marriage. The murderer aſcended the throne, but, in a few days, met with the ſame fate; and was removed by an aſſaſſination.

Stoboeus Serm. 237. Ariſt. Rhe. L. 2. C. 29. Plut. Apoph. AElian. hiſ. var. L. 14. C. 17.

Diod. Sic. L. 14. Sect. 37. * Polit. L. 5. Sect. 19.

AElian. L. 8. C. 9.

THE peace of Macedon became now totally ſubverted. Oreſtes, the infant ſon of Archelaus, was ſcarcely ſeated on the throne, when he fell a victim to the ambition of his tutor AEropus. The diſorders and frequent revolutions, which now roſe in Macedon, have occaſioned a difference in the repreſentations of hiſtorians, as to the order of ſucceſſion. But it is agreed, that Pauſanias uſurped the throne, either directly, or ſoon after AEropus; and, after a reign of one year, was ſucceeded by Amyntas, father of that prince, to whoſe actions we are now haſtening. Amyntas was (according to Thucydides) the ſon of Philip, the brother of that king Perdiccas, who had ſo conſiderable a ſhare in the affairs of Greece, during the courſe of the Peloponneſian war. He had found means, by the aſſiſtance of Sytalces, king of Thrace, and the Athenians, to diſturb the reign of Perdiccas, by his attempts to diſpoſſeſs him. Theſe attempts, however, proved ineffectual; but now having taken the opportunity of the weakneſs of the throne, and the confuſions of the kingdom, to aſſert his old pretenſions more effectually, he attacked, dethroned, and killed Pauſanias.

ORESTES. Diod. L. 14. Sect. 37.

AEROPUS. Solinus. L. 9. Diod. L. 14 & 15.

PAUSANIAS.

AMYNTAS II. Thucyd. L. 4.

Diod. L. 14. Sect. 89.

THE ſucceſſion of Amyntas to the throne of Macedon, ſeemed to promiſe a more ſettled ſtate of peace and tranquillity to a kingdom ſo long harraſſed by inteſtine wars and commotions. His brother Derdas governed

Xenop. Hiſ. Grae. L. 5.

governed the province of the Elimiotae; and their mutual harmony contributed to their mutual ſupport. The prince of the Lynceſtae, a neighbouring people, then independent on Macedon, Amyntas contrived to attach firmly to his intereſt, by his eſpouſal of Eurydicè, the grand-daughter of that prince, and one of the family of the Bacchidae of the royal race of Corinth.

Strab. L. 7. p. 326.

For five years, the vigilance and abilities of Amyntas preſerved the peace of Macedon, and defeated all the attempts of Argaeus, the brother of Pauſanias, who aſſerted his title to the ſucceſſion; and practiſed with the Macedonian nobles, and the neighbouring powers, to engage them in a revolt. But now Bardyllis, king of the Illyrians, a warlike nation, trained, exerciſed, and improved, by the activity and long experience of their ſovereign, invaded Macedon with all his powers; and, while he affected only to ſupport the title of Argaeus, determined to gratify his own ambition, by reducing the kingdom to a ſtate of ſubjection and dependence on Illyria. The courage of Amyntas, and the efforts of his ſoldiers, proved ineffectual againſt this formidable enemy. He was defeated in two ſeveral engagements: the enemy ſeized his capital, and placed Argaeus on the throne, who readily conſented to govern under the direction of Bardyllis, and to render the kingdom of Macedon tributary to Illyria.

Diod. L. 14. Sect. 92.

In this time of general diſtraction, the cities of the Chalcidian diſtrict, now united into one formidable body, of which Olynthus was the head, ſeized the occaſion of enlarging their territories. They began with the city of Potidaea, which had been reduced under the power and judiſdiction of Athens; fell on the eaſtern parts of Macedon, and puſhed their conqueſts even to Pella, a city of importance by its ſituation, and afterwards rendered illuſtrious by the birth of Alexander. The Theſſalians, on their part, though in alliance with Amyntas, ſeemed reſolved to forget their engagements, and to ſhare the ſpoil of his dominions. The ſouthern provinces were expoſed to their invaſion,

Xenop. Hiſ. Grae. L. 5. p. 554.

Dem. in Ariſtocrat.

ſion, and ſoon became their prey. Thus deſpoiled of almoſt all his dominions, and without hope of being reſtored, he endeavoured to provide for the peace and ſecurity of thoſe places which ſtill continued firm to him, by making a formal ceſſion of them to the Olynthians. They were the only neighbouring power that could diſpute them with the Illyrians; and Amyntas deemed it leſs diſhonourable to ſee them dependent on a confederacy, compoſed of Grecian cities, than to expoſe them to the fury of a barbarous enemy, or the reſentment of a rival, who muſt conſider their adherence to their prince, as in the higheſt degree criminal. The Olynthians took poſſeſſion of them, and maintained their title againſt all the attempts of Illyria and Argaeus; ſtill continuing to receive the revenues of theſe provinces, which they had thus annexed to their own dominions, during the ſhort interval of Argaeus his power. Diod. L. 14. Sect. 89. Diod. L. 15. Sect. 19.

THUS was Amyntas, for ſome time, compelled to yield to the preſent ſtorm, and to retire in expectation of better fortune. When his rival, according to ſome hiſtorians, had enjoyed the royal title and authority for two years, the Theſſalians were prevailed upon to give ſuch aſſiſtance to Amyntas, as enabled him once more to aſcend the throne. What were the inducements which now moved this people, hiſtory hath not mentioned; but poſſibly they might have been diſappointed in the advantages they propoſed from the diſorders of Macedon; and envied thoſe, whoſe attempts to diſmember that kingdom, had been more ſucceſsful; or even found it neceſſary, for their own ſecurity, to check their increaſing power. But though the king had, by this aſſiſtance, reſcued a part of his dominions from the Illyrians, yet ſtill a conſiderable part remained in the hands of the Olynthian league, a people who ſeemed determined to ſupport that right, with which the neceſſity of his affairs had obliged Amyntas to inveſt them. His honour, and even his ſafety, called on him to endeavour to recover theſe territories: he firſt began by negociation, and formally reclaimed them, as if his ceſſion had been but temporary and occaſional: the Olynthians, on their part, peremptorily rejected his demand, and declared themſelves fully reſolved to maintain their poſſeſſion by force; when commotions aroſe in the Chalcidian L. 14. Sect. 92. L. 15. Sect. 19.

diſtrict, highly favourable to the intereſts of Amyntas, and which greatly facilitated his deſign of reducing the Olynthian power.

As Olynthus had erected itſelf into a kind of ſovereignty over the other neighbouring cities, ſome of them ſeem to have beheld with impatience their ſplendor diminiſhed; and thoſe advantages, which all had joined to acquire, and all had equally a right to ſhare, confined, for the moſt part, to that which now called itſelf the ruling city. Apollonia and Acanthus, the two moſt conſiderable, next to Olynthus, had expreſſed their jealouſies and diſſatisfactions; and, having ſhewed ſome inclination to detach themſelves from the confederacy, were threatened by the Olynthians with force and ſeverity. Theſe two cities, therefore, conſulted for their ſecurity and revenge, by ſending deputies to Sparta, in order to alarm that ſtate with apprehenſions of the increaſing greatneſs of Olynthus. This city, they obſerved, had already poſſeſſed itſelf of a conſiderable part of the Macedonian territories, and even of Pella, the city of greateſt conſequence in that kingdom. Inſolent in theſe important acquiſitions, the Olynthians began to treat the reſt of the confederacy as ſubjects and vaſſals; were endeavouring to ſtrengthen themſelves by an alliance with Athens and Boeotia; a junction which could not but have the moſt important conſequences; that it became the Spartans to conſider how to guard againſt the danger with which they themſelves were threatened by ſo formidable a coalition; to redreſs the injuries, and maintain the independency of the Chalcidian cities; and to cruſh the ambitious efforts of Olynthus, before any farther acceſſions of power might fruſtrate all ſuch attempts.

Xenoph. Hiſ. Grae. L. 5. p. 554, 555.

SPARTA made no difficulty of undertaking this quarrel; and, encouraged by the proſpect of ſo powerful an aſſiſtant, king Amyntas collected his forces, and declared war againſt Olynthus. His fortune began to wear a fairer aſpect. His wife Eurydicè had already born two ſons, Alexander and Perdiccas: and now his third ſon Philip, deſtined by providence to raiſe his paternal kingdom to a degree of greatneſs far beyond

beyond all preſent expectations, firſt ſaw the light. * Chronologers and hiſtorians generally agree in fixing the birth of this prince to the ſecond year of the ninety-ninth Olympiad. † Strabo hath aſſigned Pella as the place of his birth. If ſo, the apprehenſions of the Spartan invaſion muſt have determined the Olynthians to evacuate this city. As Pella is ſaid to be in their hands in the ſpeech of the Acanthian deputy at Sparta, recorded in the fifth book of the hiſtory of Grecian affairs by Xenophon, the French author of the hiſtory of Philip concludes, that he was born near Mount Pindus, at the time of his father's exile; and warns his readers againſt what he apprehends to be a miſtake of Strabo, and ſuch modern compilers as have been guided by his authority. But, whatever difficulties or objections may be ſuggeſted about the place, the time of his birth is clearly aſcertained, and will by no means agree to the time aſſigned by this writer; as it appears by the account of * Diodorus, and is agreed by chronologers, that the reſtauration of Amyntas muſt be fixed to the ſecond year of the ninety-ſeventh Olympiad.

* Petav. v. 2. * Euſeb. Chron.

† L. 16. p. 572.

Oliv. L. 1. p. 13.

* L. 14. p. 92. Euſeb. Chron. Petav.

EVERY addition to the family of Amyntas, muſt have been regarded by him, and his adherents, as an omen of happy fortune; as the oracles were ſaid to have pronounced, that Macedon was to be eminently flouriſhing under the reign of one of his ſons. They are even ſaid to have pointed out the new-born prince by name, as the deſtined inſtrument of the happineſs of this kingdom. [E] An antient Sybilline verſe

Juſtin. L. 7. C. 6.

[E] Ανχοῦνλες βασιλεῦσι Μακεδονες Αργεαδησιν,
Ὑμιν καιρανεων ἀγαθον και πημα Φιλιππος.
Ἠτοι ὁ μεν πρῶτερος πολεσιν λαοῖσι τ' ἀνακλας
Θησι· ὁ δ' ὁπλοτερος τιμην ἀπο πασαν ὀλεσσι,
Δμηθεις ἐσπεριοισιν ὑπ' ἀνδρασιν ἠωοις τε. PAUSAN.

What boots the pride which high deſcent inſpires?
And what, thy race, from royal Argian ſires?
Hear Macedonia!—From a Philip's reign,
Expect thine happineſs: expect thy bane.
The firſt, great prince! ſhall diſtant lands obey;
And realms confeſs his delegated ſway.
The laſt, O fatal name! what woes attend!
With him thy conqueſts, honours, all ſhall end:
From eaſt, from weſt, behold thy foes ariſe!
And in one hapleſs hour thine empire dies.

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in Achai. p. 214.. is recorded by * Pauſanias, importing, that the firſt grandeur, and the final ruin of Macedon, were both to be the work of a Philip. It is too clear and explicit not to have been made after the event: however, it ſtill might have been the intereſt of Amyntas, in a ſeaſon ſo critical, at the eve of a dangerous and hazardous war, to amuſe and encourage his barbarous and ignorant ſubjects, with predictions and oracles; and to improve this incident, of the birth of his ſon, into a pledge of future happineſs, vouchſafed by heaven itſelf.

WHILE he was thus encouraging his ſubjects, collecting his army, and making every proviſion in his power for war, he had the pleaſure of finding, that the Spartans concurred ſo warmly in his views, that, in conjunction with their allies, they declared war againſt Olynthus; reſolved to raiſe ten thouſand men for this ſervice; and, in the mean time, diſpatched Eudamidas, with two thouſand Lacedemonians, in order to keep thoſe cities firm in their revolt, or diſaffection, which were declared, or ſecret enemies to Olynthus. To have the clearer conception of the nature and reaſons of the conduct of Sparta on this occaſion; a conduct which had the moſt important conſequences, and proved the ſource of many great events, which the following hiſtory muſt diſplay; it will be convenient to recal to the reader's mind the character, diſpoſitions, and preſent circumſtances, of that famous people.

Xen. Hiſt. Grae. L. 5. p. 556.

WHOEVER is in the leaſt acquainted with Grecian hiſtory, muſt know, that their legiſlator, by the ſeverity of his inſtitutions, formed the Spartans into a robuſt, hardy, valiant nation, made for war; that their early atchievements, in the field, ſoon raiſed their military reputation; inſpired them with exalted ſentiments of glory, and vaſt deſigns of power; and that under the appearance of a rigid diſcipline, manners ſtrictly corrected, and a life of frugality and labour, they concealed an inordinate and violent ambition. The victory of their general Lyſander, over their great rival ſtate, ſeemed to have confirmed them in that ſupreme authority, to which they had inceſſantly aſpired, from the moment that their foreign enemies had been driven out of Greece. An intemperate and tyrannical

abuſe

abuſe of power, was the immediate conſequence of this ſuperiority, which, joined with an unreaſonable partiality in favour of their own form of government, (now arbitrarily and cruelly impoſed on all the ſtates which they had reduced to ſubjection) made them ſoon regarded as the odious and haughty maſters, not as the protectors, of Greece. A natural love of liberty, animated by the patriot zeal of one illuſtrious Athenian, ſoon overturned the power of thoſe tyrants, whom they had impoſed on that ſtate. The other Greeks ſaw this event with ſecret ſatisfaction, and ſome even dared to deny their aſſiſtance to ſupport the tottering dominion of the thirty, and to rivet the chains with which their countrymen, (for ſo the Greeks regarded each other) were cruelly loaded. But, although the original conſtitution was thus re-eſtabliſhed at Athens, ſtill the Spartan ſovereignty was acknowledged and felt in Greece. The genius of this ſtate, and the ſupport of this its ſovereignty, required a continued courſe of action and war. Diſputes and conteſts were perpetually excited; and the Grecian ſtates attacked, harraſſed, and oppreſſed, by a people, whoſe domeſtic courſe of ſeverity rendered them inſenſible to the diſtreſſes of their neighbours. Their reſtleſs ambition, at length, prompted them to ſend their king Ageſilaus into Aſia; there to extend his conqueſts, and the glory of his country, under pretence of ſupporting the independency of the Grecian colonies. The king of Perſia, alarmed at his progreſs, and well informed and experienced in the method of ſecuring his own peace, by arming the Grecians againſt each other, wiſely ſends his emiſſaries to foment the diſcontents already conceived againſt Sparta; and, by the power of money, to induce the ſtates to riſe up againſt an odious, oppreſſive dominion. The Thebans were the firſt to embrace the deſign; the Athenians eagerly concurred; Argos and Corinth joined in the confederacy; a pretence of quarrel was ſoon found out; and the defeat and death of Lyſander, the ſoul of all the ambitious deſigns of Sparta, obliged this ſtate to recal Ageſilaus to the defence of his native land. This prince, while yet upon his march, receives an account of the naval victory gained at Cnidus by Conon the Athenian; the fatal ſtroke to the ambition and power of his country: whoſe allies now began to revolt. Sparta itſelf was forced to that mortifying

mortifying meaſure of making overtures of accommodation to Perſia; and, by the peace of Antalcidas, to renounce all the advantages gained in Aſia, to abandon the Aſiatic colonies to the Perſian, and to acknowledge the right of all the ſeveral Grecian ſtates to freedom and independency.

THUS controuled, diſmembered, and reduced, Sparta ſtill retained a paſſion for pre-eminence and ſovereignty; exerted an affected ſuperiority over the leſſer ſtates; and, under pretence of ſupporting the late accommodation, dictated ſuch terms, and, by force of arms, made ſuch diſpoſitions in the ſeveral communities, as might raiſe her own reputation, and convince others of their weakneſs; at the ſame time fully ſenſible how eſſentially the late events affected her real ſtrength and grandeur, and retaining the moſt inveterate reſentment againſt Thebes, whoſe practices had obliged the Spartan arms to retreat from Aſia, and had produced the late revolutions of power, by which their old rivals had been once again enabled to diſpute the ſovereignty of Greece.

FROM this affectation of appearing the ſupreme umpire and general protector of the injured, and with theſe diſpoſitions of reſentment and revenge againſt their late oppoſers, the Spartans now engaged in the war with Olynthus. Eudamidas, their general, fortified ſome towns in Thrace, ſecured their attachment by his garriſons, and became maſter of Potidaea; which, by its voluntary ſubmiſſion, ſeems to have been diſpleaſed with its new maſters. In the mean time Phoebidas marches to reinforce his brother Eudamidas with a powerful body. He encamps near Thebes, and there renders his expedition famous, by boldly and unexpectedly, in time of peace and ſecurity, ſeizing the [F] citadel of Thebes; an action which his hiſtory hath juſtly branded as the great diſgrace of Spartan integrity, and which proved the ſource of thoſe calamities, which afterwards fell on this ſtate, as a puniſhment of

Xenop. Hiſt. Grae. L. 5. p. 556.

p. 557.

Plut. in vitis Pelopid. Ageſil.

[F] It was an antient fortreſs built by Cadmus, 1519 years before the Chriſtian era, and called after his name Cadmaea. The city of Thebes was afterwards built round this place, and thus the Cadmaea became its citadel. Oliv. L. 1. p. 16.

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ſo outrageous a violation of public faith. With an unaccountable and ridiculous inconſiſtency the Spartans kept poſſeſſion of the citadel, yet cenſured and recalled Phoebidas; and Teleutias, the brother of one of their kings, was ſent to command in the expedition againſt Olynthus.

THIS general urged king Amyntas to unite his force with that of Lacedemon againſt their common enemy. His brother Derdas was alſo warned of the danger to be apprehended from the ambition of Olynthus, and invited to aſſiſt in cruſhing a power which might prove as dangerous to his peace, as to that of the Macedonians. Theſe two princes embraced the favourable occaſion of fighting their own cauſe with the arms of Sparta, and took the field with a well-appointed body of horſe, which proved of conſiderable ſervice. Derdas, who commanded in perſon, diſplayed both abilities and valour; the Olynthians were defeated, and obliged to ſhelter themſelves, within the walls of their city, from the purſuit of the victorious army. This action cloſed the firſt campaign. Derdas and his Macedonians were diſmiſſed with the reſpect due to their conduct, but did not ſpend the winter inactively. This warlike prince found a favourable opportunity of ſallying forth from Apollonia, on a large body of Olynthian cavalry who were ravaging the adjacent country; whom he defeated, and drove to their very walls with conſiderable ſlaughter. Xen. Hiſt. Grae. L. 5. p. 560, 561.

THE next ſeaſon proved more favourable to the Olynthians. Teleutias appeared at the head of his troops, and began to lay waſte their territories; when the enemy iſſued out, and ſeemed diſpoſed to give him battle. The Spartan general, with contempt and indignation, ordered ſome light armed forces to charge them: theſe the Olynthians, by an affected retreat, drew on, till they had paſſed a river which cut them off from all aſſiſtance; then furiouſly attacked and deſtroyed them, together with their commander. Teleutias, naturally warm and impatient, now loſt all remains of temper, and hurried on with his main body to attack the enemy; who ſtill retired, and were purſued with paſſion and reſentment, rather than with caution and diſcipline. The Ibid.

Spartans ſoon found themſelves before the walls of Olynthus, in confuſion and diſorder, attacked by miſſive weapons from the fortifications, and furiouſly charged by a general ſally; unable either to oppoſe the enemy, or to retreat with any order or ſafety. Here Teleutias, by his fall, payed the price of his temerity; and his army fled with precipitation to the adjacent cities in the intereſts of Sparta and Macedon.

p. 564. BUT this defeat neither diſcouraged the Spartans nor Macedonians. Ageſipolis, one of the kings of Sparta, was ſent to purſue the war; and Amyntas, and Derdas, both united with him, and exerted extraordinary and ſucceſsful efforts. The ſickneſs and death of Ageſipolis, for a while, ſuſpended their operations. Poliſtiades, his ſucceſſor, for whom the deciſion of this quarrel was reſerved, ſhut up the Olynthians within their walls, and ſoon obliged them to demand a capitulation. Their deputies were ſent to Sparta, where a peace was ſoon concluded, upon terms rather more favourable than their preſent difficulties could claim. They
p. 565. were obliged to acknowledge thoſe as their allies, with whom Lacedemon was thus connected; to aſſiſt this ſtate, and to march under its ſtandard. Theſe conditions ſecured Amyntas in the peaceful poſſeſſion of his kingdom; reſtored a conſiderable part of his territories, and enabled him to appear with ſplendor. He fixed his reſidence at Pella, the
Excerpt. Strab. p. 330. city of greateſt figure and conſequence in Macedon: and here his young ſon Philip received his earlieſt education. His alliances in Greece were the means of deterring his barbarous neighbours from diſturbing the tranquillity of his government; and the jealouſies of theſe barbarous neighbours, rendered it neceſſary for him to be ever careful to embrace all occaſions of ſtrengthening thoſe alliances; to have a conſtant attention to the affairs of Greece; and, according to the different fluctuations of power, to attach himſelf to that ſtate which appeared moſt likely to afford him an effectual protection. The Spartans, by the reduction of Olynthus, ſeemed to have attained the full ſummit of authority and
Plut. in Pelop. Corn. Nep. in Epaminon. grandeur. They counted among their allies, that is, their dependents and ſubjects, almoſt all the communities in Greece. Athens, though enabled to maintain its liberty, was ſtill incapable of contending for ſuperiority:

periority: and Thebes was ſecured by the Spartan garriſon, which commanded its citadel, and the Spartan governors who ruled the city; and who had baniſhed all thoſe that had been ſuſpected of the leaſt deſign to diſturb the preſent ſettlement. But the fortitude and patriotiſm of Pelopidas, one of theſe illuſtrious exiles, raiſed an unexpected ſtorm, which firſt ſhook, and, in the end, overturned all this great fabric of power. This man, ſeconded by Epaminondas, that truly great and virtuous Theban, and aſſiſted by ſome other of his gallant countrymen, determined to relieve his native land from the preſent oppreſſion; killed the Spartan tyrants, and (ſupported by ſome forces which the Athenians had ſent to aſſiſt this daring enterprize, againſt the enemies of their power,) recovered the citadel, reſtored liberty to Thebes, and laid the foundation of its future greatneſs. The better to ſupport the war which this event produced, the Thebans determined to engage the Athenians in a conteſt with their common enemy, and by ſecret practices prevailed on the Spartan general to make an attempt to ſeize the Athenian port: juſtly incenſed at this injurious attempt; fired with revenge, jealouſy, and ambition, Athens determined to ſeize this favourable opportunity of joining in a confederacy againſt her rival, which had a fair proſpect of ſucceſs; engaged vigorouſly in the war, and, by her repeated ſucceſſes, recovered the empire of the ſea, and this in a manner which had a fair and popular appearance, and enabled her orators to declaim on her generous concern for relieving the oppreſſed, and her invariable attachment to the liberty of Greece. Thus did the Athenians divide the ſovereignty with Sparta; but ſaw, with ſome concern, the riſing greatneſs of the Thebans, and therefore were obliged to uſe their advantages with moderation: and when the king of Perſia, who had occaſion for ſome Grecian troops to aſſiſt him in a war againſt Egypt, ſent his ambaſſadors to recommend a renewal of the late peace, an accommodation was readily embraced, and a convention held to adjuſt ſuch terms as might ſecure the tranquillity of Greece.

Plut. in Pelop.

Diod. Sic. L. 15.

Xen. Hiſt. Grae. L. 5. Diod. L. 15.

Dem. in Phil. 2. & alibi.

Xen. Diod. ut ſupra.

THE king of Macedon, duely attentive to theſe events, thought it neceſſary to gain the friendſhip and alliance of the Athenians, who now

appeared the great riſing power of Greece; and, for this purpoſe, preſented an advantage to their view, the moſt flattering and agreeable, the recovery of Amphipolis. From the time of Lyſander's victory, this city had continued to enjoy its independence under the protection of Lacedemon. A conſiderable number of Lacedemonians had taken their reſidence there, and lived in amity with the original inhabitants. But now their late ſucceſſes had encouraged the Athenians to renew their old pretenſions to a place of ſuch conſequence to their ſtate; and, in the convention held to ſettle the affairs of Greece, their right to Amphipolis was by them aſſerted, and acknowledged by the whole aſſembly. It was even reſolved, that they ſhould be reinſtated, in full poſſeſſion, by the general force of Greece, in caſe of any oppoſition. Amyntas was the firſt to confeſs the juſtice of their claim, and by, his apparent zeal, ſo far wrought on the Athenians, that they thought themſelves bound to acknowledge him as their friend and ally.

Philippi Litt. ad Athen.

Eſchin. de falſ. leg. Sect. 14.

But while the prince was thus wiſely engaged in providing for the ſecurity of his government, and his policy ſeemed to promiſe a perfect and undiſturbed tranquillity; in his own family he found that uneaſineſs and diſtraction, which his foreign enemies could not occaſion. His wife Eurydicè, a princeſs of exalted genius, but of paſſions evil and ungoverned, having conceived a violent affection for a young nobleman of Macedon, to whom ſhe had given her daughter Euryonè in marriage, formed the deteſtable project of diſpatching her own huſband, and giving her ſon-in-law poſſeſſion both of his bed and throne. But whether the Macedonian looked with horror on a deſign ſo ſhocking, and, in his ſurprize and tenderneſs, communicated it to his wife; or, whether this princeſs diſcovered the unwarrantable correſpondence and conſpiracies of her mother and huſband by accident, ſhe defeated the infernal ſcheme, by diſcloſing it to Amyntas. The king, too tender in his nature to inflict the full ſeverity of puniſhment on the mother of his three young princes, was prevailed on to forgive the offence: and hiſtory hath ſuggeſted, that this proved a fatal weakneſs; and that his death, which happened ſoon after, was occaſioned by the wicked arts of Eurydicè,

Juſtin L. 7. C. 4 & 5.

dicè, who ſuſpected the ſincerity of his pardon, (conſcious how little her offence deſerved it) and calmed her apprehenſions by diſpatching Amyntas. Olymp. 102. Y. 3.

ALEXANDER, the eldeſt of his three legitimate ſons, ſucceeded to the throne; unable, however, to ſupport his dignity with ſplendor or ſecurity. The Illyrians once more roſe up in arms, and obliged the king to purchaſe peace by a tribute, which he agreed to pay, and gave his brother Philip as an hoſtage and ſecurity for the performance of his ſtipulation. The Illyrians, on their part, ſeem to have been ſoon convinced of the integrity of the king of Macedon; as it will appear, that the young prince was, in ſome time after, ſent back to his court, where the wickedneſs of his mother, and the ambition of Ptolomy, raiſed ſuch diſorders, as utterly ſubverted the peace and ſecurity of the kingdom, which Amyntas had long endeavoured to eſtabliſh. This Ptolomy is called by * Diodorus the ſon of Amyntas. But, as † Juſtin doth not mention him, in recounting the offſpring of this prince; as he is alſo called ἀλλοτριος τοῦ γενους, an alien from his race, in * another author; and as we find him, in Plutarch's life of Pelopidas, promiſe to keep the kingdom for the brothers of Alexander, without mentioning any affinity of his own, we muſt ſuſpect ſome miſtake, or at leaſt ſome inaccuracy of expreſſion, in the abovementioned hiſtorian. It is ſuggeſted by a learned commentator on Diodorus, that he was the huſband of Euryonè, for whom Eurydicè conceived her unlawful paſſion. By the ſecret practices of Eurydicè, or of Ptolomy (for hiſtorians are not agreed in their relations) Alexander died, after a reign of one year. The conjecture of Palmerius may enable us to reconcile their differences, by making the death of this prince the effect of a conſpiracy formed by the queen and her adulterer. And, that there really was ſome combination formed to deſtroy him, appears from Demoſthenes, who, in his oration on the ambaſſy, mentions Apollophanes, a citizen of Pydna, as one of the accomplices.

ALEXANDER II.

Ibid.

Ibid.

* L. 15. Sect. 71.

† L. 7. C. 4.

Dexippus in Syncell. Chrono. p. 24.

Jacob. Palmerius in Diod. L. 15. p. 49.

Juſtin ut ſupra.

Athen. L. 14.

De falſa leg. Sect. 58.

WE

L. 14. p. 629. We find it aſſerted, in the fourteenth book of Athenaeus, from an hiſtorian called Marſyas, that Alexander fell, by the hand of Ptolomy, in a martial dance, in which the performers were armed: if ſo, the murderer did not reap the fruits of his cruelty and treachery. For Eſchin. de fal. leg. Sect. 13. Pauſanias, a prince of the royal blood, but from another branch, took advantage of the preſent confuſion, and returned to Macedon, from whence ſome former attempts to diſturb the government had occaſioned him to be baniſhed. Here he found many friends and adherents. He poſſeſſed himſelf of Anthemus, Therma, and Strepſa, with ſome other towns, and aſſumed the royal title. The friends of Perdiccas, the ſecond ſon of Amyntas, who now became the lawful poſſeſſor, were gained over or intimidated; and the intereſts of the family of king Amyntas began to appear totally deſperate, when, happily for the young princes, Iphicrates, the Athenian general, appeared in Macedon, upon an important commiſſion from his ſtate. Amphipolis, as hath been already obſerved, was, by the general voice of Greece, conſigned to the Athenian juriſdiction. But the preſent inhabitants had ſo long taſted the pleaſures of independence, (and poſſibly were influenced by the Spartans) that they refuſed to ſubmit to the ſentence of the Grecian convention, or to return to a ſtate of ſubjection. The Athenians, on their part, determined to aſſert their right by force of arms. But firſt, they ſent their general, whoſe character gave weight and dignity to his repreſentations, with a few ſhips, to try the gentler methods of perſuaſion and remonſtrance, as well as to inform himſelf of the preſent condition of the city, and the meaſures fit to be purſued, if an open rupture ſhould prove neceſſary. Iphicrates had been ſome years before in Macedon, when charged with an expedition againſt ſome Plut. in Apoph. Cor. Nep. in Iphic. barbarous natives of Thrace: on which occaſion Amyntas had expreſſed his reſpect to this illuſtrious Athenian, and his ſtate; and had entertained him at his court, with due magnificence and politeneſs. A friendſhip and affection grew from this incident, which the people of that age would have deemed it the utmoſt baſeneſs to forget. Eurydicè therefore now ſought an interview with this general; he was enter-

entertained at her palace, and there ſurprized by an action, which could not fail to have the utmoſt influence on a humane and poliſhed mind.

THE queen, with her two ſons, whoſe age, ſtation, and misfortunes, rendered them objects of attention and reſpect, appeared ſuddenly before him in all the marks of grief and calamity. The elder ſhe gave to his hand; Philip, the younger, was placed on his knee. "Here" ſaid Eurydicè, "behold the tender pledges of that friendſhip which "Amyntas always felt, always expreſſed, for Iphicrates. To you he "was a father; you he conſidered as his child. Your city he loved "and revered; and you the moſt reſpectable of that city. Theſe "helpleſs orphans are your brethren and your friends. To you they fly "for protection and aſſiſtance. Pity their tender years, oppreſſed by "cruel uſurpation; pity their weeping mother, who thus begs redreſs "of her own, and her children's injuries; relieve the dear remains of "your antient friend, and reſtore the peace of that kingdom, which "hath ever merited the kindeſt offices from Athens."

IPHICRATES, affected by this addreſs, readily engaged to reinſtate the ſon of Amyntas in the throne of Macedon. Pauſanias was ſoon obliged to yield to his power and authority: Perdiccas was acknowledged ſovereign: and, during his minority, the adminiſtration was entruſted to Ptolomy. This diſpoſition could not at all contribute to abate the ambition of Ptolomy, who was by no means contented with the power and dignity of a regent. Fired with the hopes of aſcending the throne, he began with forming his alliances and connexions in Greece, ſo as to facilitate his ſecret deſigns. The Thebans were by this time become eminent and powerful. The implacable reſentment of Ageſilaus, who never could forgive the people that ſtopped the glorious progreſs of his arms in Aſia, kindled up the flames of a war with Thebes, which proved fatal to his country. At Leuctra the Spartans loſt one of their kings, the choice of their troops, and the reputation of their arms. The Thebans, conducted and encouraged by Epaminondas, purſued their advantage, and almoſt all Greece crowded to their ſtandard;

Xen. Hiſt. Grae. L. 6,7.

ſtandard; the Athenians excepted, who envied and dreaded their riſing power; and, in order to preſerve the ballance, united with Lacedemon. The Thebans, therefore, Ptolomy determined to gain; and, to recommend himſelf to their alliance and protection, oppoſed the Athenians in their attempts to recover Amphipolis. Thus ſtrengthened, as he imagined, by the alliance of a ſtate now in the full ſplendor of its glory, this turbulent and ambitious prince began to avow his deſigns, and openly claimed a right to the ſovereignty of Macedon. A conſiderable party was brought over to his intereſt, and the whole kingdom fell once more into confuſion and diſorder, by the contentions of the two competitors to ſupport their different claims: when a particular event put an end to this confuſion, and greatly contributed to lay the foundation of that greatneſs, to which Philip, the younger prince, afterwards attained.

Eſch. de fal. leg. Sect. 14.

Plut. in Pelop.

THE Theſſalians had for ſome time groaned under the oppreſſion of a family of uſurpers. Jaſon, the Pheraean, who had at firſt ſeized the government, was a prince of merit, genius, and ſagacity. His aſſiſtance had been of the utmoſt conſequence to the Thebans in the war with Sparta; and both the contending parties he had endeavoured to manage in ſuch a manner as to prevent either of them from growing too great, ſo as to obſtruct thoſe vaſt deſigns of power and grandeur which he had meditated for himſelf and Theſſaly. His abilities reconciled the Theſſalians to his uſurpation, and might have had important conſequences, had he not been ſuddenly cut off by a conſpiracy. The reſpect due to his memory induced the Theſſalians to acknowledge his two brothers Polydorus and Polyphron as their rightful ſovereigns. The latter, impatient of a divided power, ſtabbed Polydorus; but ſoon after met with the like fate by the hand of Alexander, ſon, or, according to * Diodorus, the brother of the murdered prince. This action might have been conſidered as the effect of a juſt reſentment: but the conduct of Alexander left no room to extenuate his crimes. His ambition and cruelty were equally outrageous, and equally oppreſſive to the Theſſalians, who ſoon found themſelves obliged to implore the good offices of Thebes, to relieve

Xen. Hiſt. Grae. L. 6. p. 601.

* L. 15. Sect. 61.

lieve them from ſo intolerable a tyrant. His outrages had even reached to the Thebans and Athenians; and all mankind ſeemed concerned to repreſs the cruelties of this deteſtable monſter. The Thebans, therefore, ſent Pelopidas, their illuſtrious citizen, into Theſſaly to reſtore the tranquillity of that country. His reputation rendered him revered and dreaded; the principal cities opened their gates to him; and the tyrant fled before him. At firſt, he endeavoured, by the gentle methods of perſuaſion and addreſs, to infuſe ſuch principles into the breaſt of Alexander, as might prove more friendly to mankind; but finding him incapable of reformation, and receiving repeated complaints of his cruelty and abandoned ſenſuality, he thought it neceſſary to threaten him with the ſeverity of his power, which ſo intimidated the tyrant, that he retired privately with his guards, and left his countrymen freed from his oppreſſion. Xen. ut ſupra. Plut. in Pelop.

To Pelopidas, who was ſtill in Theſſaly, and who ſeemed formed for reſtoring the peace of kingdoms, and redreſſing the injuries of the oppreſſed, the Macedonians now applied. Nor could the two contending brothers refuſe to ſubmit their cauſe to the determination of an umpire, no leſs diſtinguiſhed for his equity, than for his other glorious accompliſhments. On this occaſion, his ſentence ſeemed entirely conſonant to the ſtricteſt rules of juſtice and moderation. Thoſe, whom the violence of party had driven from their country, he cauſed to be reſtored both on one and the other ſide. Perdiccas he declared ſole king of Macedon, and obliged Ptolomy to relinquiſh his pretenſions, and to profeſs a cordial reconciliation with his lawful prince. The king, whom he had now eſtabliſhed on the throne, engaged to act, in all particulars, as a friend and ally to the Thebans; and, as a ſecurity for his performance of every thing required on his part, [G] Philip his brother, together Ibid.

[G] The hiſtory of this prince's earlier years is embarraſſed with many differences and inconſiſtencies in different hiſtorians. By weighing and comparing their ſeveral accounts, I have endeavoured to form a conſiſtent narration, without entering into any particular diſcuſſion of the relations of thoſe writers, who ſpeak of his confinement in Illyria and Thebes; which might add to that tedioufneſs which the reader may have already found in the introductory part of this hiſtory.

with thirty noble youths of the firſt diſtinction in Macedon, were committed as hoſtages to the hands of Pelopidas, and by him conveyed to Thebes. A tranſaction which, as Plutarch obſerves, reflected the higheſt honour on his country; diſplayed the authority which the reputation of the Theban arms had gained abroad, and the opinion which had been univerſally conceived of the juſtice and integrity of that ſtate.

Ibid. Olymp. 102. Y. 4.

To the inſtances he had already given of his humane and generous diſpoſition, Pelopidas added that of a ſtrict attention to the care and education of the young prince, whom the neceſſity of affairs had thus torn from his family and his country. He had now attained the age of fifteen years, the time of life which demanded the exacteſt culture and regulation; and when a mind, to which nature hath been bountiful, begins to be ſuſceptible of ſolid inſtruction. And Pelopidas conſulted moſt effectually for his improvement and direction, by placing Philip in the family of Polymnus, the father of Epaminondas, who had the happineſs to be ſtill living, a witneſs of the glory and greatneſs of his illuſtrious ſon. The ſame tutors, and the ſame courſe of ſtudy, by which Epaminondas had been formed, were provided for the Macedonian prince. He had now an opportunity of forming his mind by the Grecian manners, the ſtandard of politeneſs, and the ſchool of virtue. He had ever before his eyes a character, one of the moſt truly great and amiable, which the Grecian ſtory hath preſerved, which he was inſtantly taught to revere, and to believe it his intereſt and glory to imitate. But it may be neceſſary to enter a little more particularly into the character of this renowned Theban, that we may have the clearer conception of thoſe advantages which Philip happily derived from his preſent ſituation.

Plut. in Pelop. Diod. L. 16. Sect. 2. Nep. in Epam.

EPAMINONDAS was born and educated in that honeſt poverty, which thoſe leſs corrupted ages accounted the glorious mark of integrity and virtue. The inſtructions of a Pythagorean philoſopher, to whom he was intruſted in his earlieſt years, formed him to all the temperance and ſeverity peculiar to that ſect, and were received with a docility and pleaſure which beſpoke an ingenuous mind. Muſic, dancing, and all thoſe

Nep. ut ſupra.

thoſe arts which were accounted honourable diſtinctions at Thebes, he received from the greateſt maſters. In the athletic exerciſes he became conſpicuous, but ſoon learned to apply particularly to thoſe which might prepare him for the labours and occaſions of a military life. His modeſty and gravity rendered him ready to hear and receive inſtruction; and his genius enabled him to learn and improve. A love of truth, a love of virtue, tenderneſs, and humanity, and an exalted patriotiſm, he had learned, and ſoon diſplayed. To theſe glorious qualities he added penetration and ſagacity, a happineſs in improving every incident, a conſummate ſkill in war, an unconquerable patience of toil and diſtreſs, a boldneſs in enterprize, vigour, and magnanimity. Thus did he become great and terrible in war; nor was he leſs diſtinguiſhed by the gentler virtues of peace and retirement. He had a ſoul capable of the moſt exalted and diſintereſted friendſhip. The warmth of his benevolence ſupplied the deficiencies of his fortune: his credit and good offices frequently were employed to gain that relief for the neceſſities of others, which his own circumſtances could not grant them: within the narrow ſphere of theſe were his deſires regularly confined; no temptations could corrupt him; no proſpect of advantage could ſhake his integrity; to the public he appeared unalterably and ſolely devoted, nor could neglect or injuries abate his zeal for Thebes. All theſe illuſtrious qualities he adorned with that eloquence which was then in ſuch repute, and appeared in council equally eminent, equally uſeful to his country, as in action. By him Thebes firſt roſe to ſovereign power, and with him ſhe loſt her greatneſs.

SUCH was the accompliſhed perſonage, in whoſe ſteps Philip was now taught to tread. [H] A Pythagorean philoſopher was alſo given to

Clemens Alex. in Paedag.

[H] A SEVERE perſecution, to which the diſciples of Pythagoras had been expoſed in Italy (of which we have a particular account in Juſtin, L. 20. Polybius, L. 2. Plutarch de Gen. Socrat. and other authors) obliged thoſe few, who could eſcape from the barbarity of their enemies, to take ſhelter in Greece, where they found protection and reſpect; and were employed in inſtructing youth in the ſevere rules and precepts of their philoſophy. Hence Epaminondas found an uſeful and agreeable preceptor in Lyſis;

to him as an inſtructor, to form his mind by thoſe precepts, whoſe effects were already ſo eminently diſplayed in Epaminondas. But theſe precepts do not ſeem to have been received by Philip with that due regard to their intrinſic worth, which the virtuous Theban had diſcovered. Yet, as reputable and honourable accompliſhments, they ſufficiently engaged his attention; and, under the direction of this tutor, he attained to a remarkable proficiency in the Pythagorean doctrine. The ſame polite and ornamental parts of education he had alſo the faireſt opportunities of acquiring, and was early taught to admire all thoſe arts in which Greece excelled. Eloquence was pointed out, as an accompliſhment highly meriting his regard; and he continued, even in his moſt exalted fortune, to glory in the proficiency he was now labouring to gain. The converſation of Epaminondas enriched his mind with knowledge, and taught him the lovelineſs of virtue. High and exalted ſentiments of glory were beſt fitted to his diſpoſition; and all the arts and accompliſhments, which led to this, he ſtudiouſly cultivated, and eagerly acquired. From the great Theban he learned activity and vigour in all military operations; addreſs and ſagacity in improving all opportunities, and turning every incident to his advantage; but the more material parts of this great man's excellencies, ſaith Plutarch, his juſtice, his magnanimity, and his clemency, of theſe Philip poſſeſſed no ſhare by nature, nor did he acquire them by imitation. But, although the conduct of this prince may ſometimes give a ſanction to this ſevere ſentence, yet may we reaſonably conſider the hiſtorian as ſpeaking from the reſentment of a man, whoſe country had ſuffered by this prince's power. To conceal his faults, and, by a ſtrained defence, to convert his moſt exceptionable actions into ſo many inſtances of virtue or abilities, is to deſtroy that profitable inſtruction which his hiſtory may afford to mankind. But it may be at leaſt aſſerted, without any violation of hiſtorical truth, that Philip doth not always appear deſtitute of thoſe

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 2.

Plut. in Alex.

in Pelop.

Lyſis; and hence Nauſithous, another of that ſect, was now at Thebes ready to undertake the important charge of the young Macedonian prince. The poverty of Polymnus may induce us to concur with the Abbè de la Tour, author of the Life of Epaminondas, in ſuppoſing, that a public penſion was aſſigned, to defray the expence of Philip's education.

virtues.

virtues. He was ſenſible of the worth and amiableneſs, and never failed to aſſume the exterior appearance of them; and it may be more conſonant to his character to ſay, that an inordinate ambition, the firſt great paſſion of his mind, checked and controuled all the humane and benevolent ſentiments which he received from nature and education. Glory was his ultimate purſuit; and, to this, all his virtues were made ſubſervient. Hence it is, that we find this prince, who, from many inſtances of his conduct, appears by no means inſenſible to the dictates of juſtice and clemency, yet ſometimes acting injuriouſly and cruelly; forgetting, or neglecting, thoſe noble inſtructions he had received, and that example of true greatneſs, which had been pointed out to his imitation.

THAT this young prince, whoſe genius now began to ſhine out, might want no advantages to compleat his education, he was not confined to Thebes, but ſeems to have been attended by his preceptors into different parts of Greece, where the peace which this country enjoyed in the beginning of the reign of Perdiccas, admitted him to viſit the ſeveral ſtates, to ſtudy the tempers, manners, and diſpoſitions of thoſe people, who then engaged the general attention. The arts, the learning, and elegance of Athens, he ſeems to have particularly ſtudied, reliſhed, and admired. With the learned men of that city he formed connexions which continued during the whole courſe of his reign. He revered and admired Plato, as appears from that regard which he ever diſcovered to his followers: nor doth he ſeem to have been leſs regarded by the philoſopher. He paid the due reſpect to the riſing genius of Theophraſtus; and that intimacy, to which he admitted Iſocrates, we ſhall have frequent occaſion of obſerving. But his intercourſe with Athens doth not ſeem to have been entirely devoted to the adorning his mind, or improving his taſte. The political ſtate of that city, the paſſions, inclinations, and preſent corruptions of its inhabitants, were objects no leſs fitted to gain his attention. Theſe he undoubtedly ſtudied with the greateſt diligence; for no man appears to have been more intimately acquainted with them. He well knew how

Oliv. L. 1. p. 37.

AElian. L. 4. C. 19.
Athen. L. 11.
AElian. ibid.

to

to eſteem their good qualities, to deſpiſe their faults, and to derive the due advantages from their prejudices and weakneſs.

Plut. in Alexan. In theſe his excurſions from Thebes, he viſited Samothrace, and was there initiated into thoſe grand myſteries of Ceres, which were celebrated at Athens, at Eleuſis, and in other parts of Greece. Here he firſt ſaw Olympias, the ſecond daughter of the King of Epirus; who was alſo initiated into the myſteries, and was now called Myrtalis, a name which the remembrance of their firſt affection ſeems to have preſerved, and occaſioned it to be frequently repeated. The affinity of their houſes naturally engaged Philip's attention to this princeſs. For Lanuſſa, the grand-daughter of Hercules, had been eſpouſed by Peleus, the grandſon of Achilles, from whom the kings of Epirus were deſcended. And her extraordinary beauty, joined to the natural graces of her tender years, made an impreſſion on the young prince, which never was effaced, but by their conjugal diſagreements.

Pauſan. in Corinth.
Juliani Caeſ.

Olivier L. 1. p. 39.
Rollin. It ſeems alſo probable, that Philip was permitted to attend Epaminondas in ſome of theſe expeditions which have ſo highly exalted the military character of that great Theban. Men of diſtinguiſhed note in Greece thought themſelves honoured by following the ſtandard of that general, whoſe arms pierced into the very boſom of Sparta, and who, more than once, made his enemies tremble for the ſafety of their very city.

While Philip was thus labouring to acquire all thoſe accompliſhments which might render him great and eminent, the kingdom of Macedon became again diſtracted by the ambition of Ptolomy, who was again encouraged to renew his pretenſions to the ſovereign power; again began to oppreſs the family of Amyntas; and obliged them once more to apply to Pelopidas, their protector. His honour and his diſpoſition both engaged him to ſupport his own ſettlement, and to aſſert the intereſts of his friends: but, as the Theban forces were otherwiſe engaged, he was obliged to collect ſome mercenary troops; and, at

Plut. in Pelop.

their

their head, marched againſt the uſurper. As they approached, Ptolomy contrived to corrupt thoſe mercenaries, to engage them to revolt from their general, and to join his own army: yet the very name of this illuſtrious Theban ſtruck him with more terror than the appearance of an armed force. Single, and deſerted, as he was, the Macedonian humbled himſelf before him, acknowledged his fault, and implored pardon, as from a ſuperior: ſolemnly promiſing, for the future, to confine himſelf to the duties of a regent; to pay due allegiance to the lawful heir of the throne, and to behave, in every particular, as a faithful friend and ally to the Theban ſtate; and, as a ſecurity for his conduct, he gave his own ſon Philoxenus, with fifty other young Macedonians, as hoſtages; who were all ſent to Thebes.

THIS expedition, ſo honourable to Pelopidas, in the end proved fatal to him. His deſire of revenging the treachery of his mercenaries, was the occaſion of his falling into the hands of Alexander, the tyrant of Theſſaly; (from whence he was delivered by his friend Epaminondas;) and his reſentment of the tyrant's cruelty afterwards induced him to lead an army into Theſſaly: where his fury and impatience to attack Alexander in perſon, hurried him into the midſt of his enemies; and this renowned Theban fell beneath their numbers. Plut. ibid.

PROBABLY the death of Pelopidas encouraged Ptolomy once more to aſſert his pretenſions; and to raiſe new diſorders in Macedon. At leaſt, we find that Perdiccas ſtill ſuſpected his enterprizing temper; and, to ſecure the quiet poſſeſſion of a throne, which he had hitherto enjoyed but in name, recurred to the expedient uſually practiſed in this unſettled kingdom, and quieted his apprehenſions by murdering his turbulent guardian. Thus was this prince eſtabliſhed in an undiſturbed poſſeſſion of the ſovereign power: and, from this event, we find hiſtorians date the beginning of his reign. Diod. L. 16. Sect. 2. Olymp. 103. Y. 4.

PERDICCAS was a prince who did not want talents, but wanted the art of regulating and applying them; he had more boldneſs than Oliv. C. 1. p. 42.

firmneſs,

firmneſs, more cunning than prudence, and more genius than judgment. He valued himſelf upon his learning, and was paſſionately fond of learned men, without informing himſelf whether their characters anſwered to the knowledge they had acquired. Not contented with ſupporting them with his bounty, and encouraging them by his favour, he admitted them indiſcriminately into his ſtricteſt confidence; and even ſuffered himſelf to be abſolutely governed by one Eupratus, a philoſopher unworthy of the ſchool of Plato, where he had been inſtructed; who poſſeſſed the prince with an high opinion of his own proficiency in ſcience, with an affectation of refinement and ſpeculation; collected all thoſe about him, who might flatter this diſpoſition, and made him prefer pedants to his generals.

Athen. L. 11. p. 508.

His connexions with Thebes naturally led him to oppoſe the Athenian intereſt. Amphipolis, the perpetual ſubject of diſpute, was ſtill claimed by that people: but Perdiccas peremptorily refuſed to acknowledge the juſtice of their pretenſions, and prepared to defend the poſſeſſion of this important city, which he now aſſumed, by the force of arms. The Athenians, on their part, determined to aſſert their right, and, for this purpoſe, ſent out a conſiderable armament, under the command of a general named Calliſthenes. Perdiccas found himſelf unable to oppoſe this force, which had defeated him; and was on the point of regaining the city, when he was obliged to call in artifice to his aſſiſtance, and (poſſibly by tampering with Calliſthenes) obtained an advantageous truce. The Athenians were juſtly diſſatisfied with the conduct of their general, who now returned with diſgrace, and ſome time after fell under the reſentment of his countrymen. He was put to death, but without any public declaration, that the truce which he had concluded with Perdiccas, was the real cauſe of his ſentence. The people rather affected a regard to public faith, to adhere inviolably to the act of the man whom they had regularly commiſſioned, and even to approve of this truce, as a means of bringing the king of Macedon to a juſt ſenſe of the equity of their cauſe. Nor had they ſufficient opportunity to aſſert their claim effectually, being now engaged in aſſiſting

AEſchin. de fal. Leg. Sect. 14.

Xen. Hiſ. Grae. L. 7.

ing the Lacedemonians. The united force of theſe ſtates were conquered by Epaminondas at Mantinea, but unhappily the Thebans loſt their glorious general; and, with him, all the fruits of their victory, and all their ſhort-lived power and grandeur. Olymp. 104. Y. 2.

THE effect which this important loſs muſt neceſſarily have on Thebes, was ſoon perceived by the powers bordering on Macedon, which had hitherto been awed by that ſtate, and prevented from attacking its ally. But now the declenſion of the Theban grandeur, evidently foreſeen, appears to have encouraged the old enemies of the Macedonians to diſturb their peace: The Illyrians had ſtill at their head the ſame brave and experienced prince, Bardyllis, whoſe age doth not ſeem to have abated his vigour, and whoſe arms had already proved ſo formidable. He now ſent to Perdiccas to demand the payment of that tribute which he had exacted from ſome former kings; and, on his refuſal, advanced at the head of a powerful army to ſupport his claim; which quickly rouſed the Macedonians, who marched out to oppoſe the invaders. The valour of each army was equal: but the Illyrians were better diſciplined, and better conducted; and found but little difficulty in gaining a compleat victory. The poor remains of the Macedonian army, of which more than four thouſand, by far the greateſt part of its force, had been cut to pieces, was obliged to lay down their arms, and ſubmit to the conqueror. Their king, who had not been deficient in acts of valour, fell a priſoner into the hands of his enemies, and there died of the wounds he had received in battle. His ſon Amyntas, who now became his ſucceſſor, was yet in his infancy, unable to aſſume the government, much more to retrieve the diſordered and dangerous ſtate of his kingdom. Thus was Macedon left expoſed to all the conſequences of civil diſſenſion, at the ſame time that it was drove to the brink of ruin by the moſt fatal calamities of a foreign war. Diod. L. 16. Sect. 2.

BOOK I. SECTION II.

CONTENTS.

DIFFERENT opinions about the place of Philip's reſidence at the time of Perdiccas's death.—Complicated diſtreſs of Macedon at this conjuncture.—Philip aſſumes the regency.—The immediate effects of his appearance.—Is raiſed to the throne in the place of his infant nephew.—Animates his ſubjects, by his ſucceſſes, againſt the Paeonians.—Inforces military diſcipline.—Inſtitution of the Δορυφοροι.*—Philip forms the Phalanx.—Deſcription of that body.—Obſervations on its form, arms, advantages, and defects.—Philip prevails on the king of Thrace to abandon his rival Pauſanias.—Declares Amphipolis a free city.—His conduct explained.—Philip defeats Argaeus.—Concludes a treaty with Athens.—Subdues Paeonia.—His battle with the Illyrians.—The death of Bardyllis.—Philip erects a trophy.—A probable reaſon of his making this alteration in the Macedonian cuſtoms.—Philip projects the ſiege of Amphipolis.—His addreſs in defeating an intended union between Athens and Olynthus.—He gains over the Olynthians to his intereſt.—He beſieges Amphipolis.—Amuſes the Athenians.—The Amphipolitans ſue to this people for ſuccours—but in vain.—Philip takes Amphipolis.—Finds it neceſſary to cement his union with the Olynthians.—He gives them Pydna.—The account of Libanius conſidered relative to Phi-*

lip's conduct towards the Pydeneans.—Potidaea beſieged by Philip.—His treatment of the Athenian garriſon.—The city given up to the Olynthians.—Philip's expedition into Thrace.—Character of Cotys.—Eſtabliſhment of the city of Philippi.—Golden mines near Crenidae.—The advantages which Philip derived from this fund of wealth.—War between Cotys and the Athenians.—Death of Cotys.—Diſorders occaſioned by the ambition of Cerſobleptes.—Philip's attention to the commotions in Thrace.

BOOK

BOOK the FIRST.

SECTION II.

* DIODORUS aſſerts, that Philip was ſtill detained at Thebes, and there reſided; when the news of the total defeat of the Macedonians, and the death of their king, ſpread through the neighbouring nations, and reached this young prince. Education, example, his youth, and natural ardor, all conſpired to render him impatient for ſome great occaſion of exerting his abilities; and this event ſeemed, as it were, the ſignal for his ſtarting forward in the race of honour and glory. According to that hiſtorian, he now eluded the vigilance of the guards, to whom the care of his perſon was entruſted; and fled privately away to Macedon; reſolved to aſſiſt his family and country in their diſtreſs; elevated with expectations of renown; and perhaps not without hopes of the throne, to which he afterwards was raiſed.

Olymp. 105. Y. 1.
* L. 16. Sect. 2.

BUT, according to this account, Philip muſt have reſided for a much longer term at Thebes than three years, which * Juſtin makes the time of his confinement in that city. And this ſeems to favour a relation, which † Athenaeus hath preſerved, but which he ſpeaks of as obſcure and uncertain. It is ſaid, that Plato conceived ſuch expectations of this prince, that he recommended him to the late king Perdiccas as a perſon entirely qualified for a public truſt; and that, in conſequence of the philoſopher's advice, Perdiccas placed him at the head of one of the Macedonian provinces, that he might there raiſe, train, and diſcipline, a body of forces, by way of a reſerve, on any ſudden emergency. If we may credit this relation, Philip muſt have been in his government at the time of his brother's defeat; and now appeared opportunely in defence of his country, not ſingle or unprepared, but at the head of a conſiderable reinforcement.

* L. 7. C. 5.

† L. 11. p. 506.

CIR-

Oliv. L. 2. p. 47.

CIRCUMSTANCED as Macedon was at this time, a prince whoſe only virtue was courage, muſt neceſſarily have compleated its ruin, and one who poſſeſſed leſs of this than Philip could not have attempted to re-eſtabliſh it. The choice of all its forces had been cut to pieces, or made priſoners, in the late engagement; the remains were totally intimidated; their wounds ſtill bleeding, and the terror of the enemy ſtill ſtrongly impreſſed upon their minds. The victorious army, which Bardyllis had augmented by new levies, was every moment expected to pour down upon them; and nothing was ſpoken of, but the neceſſity of an abſolute ſubmiſſion. The Paeonians, a powerful and warlike people, accounted, in earlier times, leſs barbarous and more conſiderable than the Macedonians, had received ſome cauſe of offence from Perdiccas; and were now indulging their revenge, ravaging and inſulting the kingdom without the leaſt interruption or controul. Antient pretenſions to the ſovereignty were at the ſame time renewed; and foreign enemies invited to ſhare the ſpoils of this unhappy kingdom, under the pretence of ſupporting the claims of different competitors. Pauſanias, whom Iphicrates had diſpoſſeſſed, openly aſſerted his right to the crown. The Thracians he had engaged to ſupport his title; and was now ready to invade the kingdom, at the head of a formidable army, which the king of that country had been prevailed upon to raiſe for his aſſiſtance. Argaeus, the old competitor of king Amyntas, looked on the victory of his friends, the Illyrians, as an event highly favourable to his pretenſions; which he alſo now avowed and aſſerted. His known connexions with the victorious enemy, muſt have conſiderably increaſed his party in Macedon: but his dependence was not intirely on this party, nor on the Illyrians. The people of Athens had conceived an high reſentment againſt Perdiccas, who had preſumed to diſpute their right to Amphipolis; and oppoſed their attempts to regain that city. They were by no means favourably diſpoſed to Philip, the friend of Thebes, and pupil of their enemy Epaminondas. They juſtly ſuſpected that this prince, if once eſtabliſhed in the peaceable adminiſtration of affairs, would not be inclined to make them any conceſſion which Perdiccas had denied. Argaeus, on his part, who was grown old in

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 2.

intrigue,

intrigue, knew how to make the moſt flattering promiſes, when he ſtood in need of aſſiſtance: and ſo effectually convinced the Athenians, that their intereſt was cloſely connected with his reſtauration to that throne, on which he had for ſome time ſat, that they reſolved to exert themſelves in defence of his title; and, for this purpoſe, ſent out Mantias, one of their commanders, with a powerful fleet, and three thouſand men. Diod. Sic. ut ſupra.

Two pretenders to the crown, and four formidable enemies, now actually in arms, and ready to ſurround him, were not capable of deterring Philip from aſſuming the reins of government, under the title of regent and protector to his infant nephew. His eloquence was now firſt exerted to rouſe the Macedonians from their deſpair; to recal to their minds the courage, and the antient honours of their fathers; to inſpire them with hopes of better fortune; and to engage them in a faithful allegiance to the reigning family. All the motives that could poſſibly diſſipate their terror, and conciliate their affections, were pathetically and effectually urged by this prince: his own undaunted deportment gave weight to his arguments; and the appearance of his extraordinary merit made them conſider fidelity and ſtrict adherence to him, not only as their duty, but their true intereſt. He poſſeſſed all thoſe qualifications, in an eminent degree, which render a prince amiable in the general eye. His perſon was remarkably graceful, and commanded affection and reſpect: his addreſs and deportment were obliging and inſinuating: his conſummate penetration had not the leaſt appearance of reſerve: he had affability the moſt pleaſing and flattering; natural and unſtudied; without that timidity and heſitating condeſcenſion, that aukward and ridiculous mixture of caution and affected openneſs, which the great may ſometimes betray, who know the uſe of affability, and vainly hope to appear what nature forbids them to attempt. He had a temper gay and unclouded; a wit indulged with apparent eaſe, but ever well corrected. Such accompliſhments are oftentimes found to be the veil of deep deſigns and turbulent paſſions; but are frequently known to raiſe ſuch prejudices in favour of the poſſeſſor, as caution and reflection

Ibid.

Juſt. L. 7. C. 5.

Diod. L. 16. Sect. 3.

AEſchin. de falſa Leg. Plut. in Apopth. Athenae. & al.

reflection cannot conquer. The bare appearance, therefore, of ſuch a prince, in a time of public danger, muſt have had a conſiderable effect: and the firſt experience of his abilities, in the beginning of his regency, ſtrengthened the expectations of the people, and confirmed their attachment to him. But the dignity of regent was by no means ſuited to the greatneſs of his ambition, now inflamed by the popular favour, and general good opinion, which his merit had acquired. The oracle was induſtriouſly publiſhed, which promiſed that Macedon ſhould arrive to the higheſt grandeur, under the reign of a ſon of Amyntas: and it was received with all poſſible deference. "This is the man," they cried, "whom we are to regard as the deſtined deliverer of his country. "Let us reflect upon the dangers now impending over us, and can we "hope for any ſecurity but from a king like him, or that an infant "reign can be at all conſiſtent with the preſent ſtate of Macedon? "Can it be expected, that a young prince, fired with a generous love "of glory and power, will exert all his abilities in defence of the glory "and power of another? No: let us make our cauſe his own: let us "offer him a prize worthy to be contended for; and let us place that "prince upon the throne of Macedon, whom the God himſelf points "out to us, and commands to be received as our deliverer." Such ſentiments were, no doubt, propagated with all diligence by the friends and partizans of Philip, and were heard with all attention. And, as the circumſtances and inclinations of the Macedonians favoured the ſchemes of his ambition, the infant Amyntas was ſet aſide, without difficulty, in a kingdom which had frequently been uſed to ſee the lineal ſucceſſion interrupted; and Philip himſelf was now inveſted with the royal title and authority.

Juſtin L. 7. C. 6.

THUS was he happily and eaſily put in poſſeſſion of the firſt darling object of his aſpiring hopes. And, having aſcendedt he throne of Macedon, he inſtantly began to exert himſelf with due policy and vigour, for the defence of his own power, and the welfare of his new ſubjects. His attention was, in the firſt place, turned to the army which had ſuffered ſo ſeverely in the late engagement: and his firſt care was to reſtore

Diod. Sic. ut ſupra.

reſtore its ſtrength and vigour; and to eſtabliſh and improve its diſcipline.

THE art of war had not, as yet, been duly underſtood in Macedon, though, from the earlieſt ages, the ſoldiers of this kingdom had been remarkable for natural valour: and, in a diſordered ſtate, where many competitors frequently contended for the ſupreme power, and the government was weak and precarious, it is eaſy to conceive that princes might have been tempted to connive at many relaxations in military diſcipline, in order to preſerve the affections of their ſoldiers by this falſe indulgence. But Philip's views were much juſter, and more extenſive. The obſervations he had made, and the inſtructions he had received, in Greece, formed him compleatly in the military art; and taught him to regard an exact regulation of his army, as the ſure foundation of all his future hopes. He therefore applied to this work with an attention ſuited to its importance. He began with providing a ſufficient quantity of arms for his ſoldiers; and, in the form and management of theſe, made ſuch alterations as his experience and obſervation had ſuggeſted. His forces were conſtantly exerciſed, reviewed, engaged in mock battles; trained and inured to form, to move, to march, with eaſe and regularity. Every thing that tended to luxury and indulgence was ſtrictly prohibited. Their wives were never ſuffered to attend his officers; though [A] he himſelf was yet not careful to inforce this ſtrict regard to the diſcipline of his camp, by his own example. His exact care, in baniſhing luxury and effeminacy, continued during the whole courſe of his reign. We learn from * Polyaenus, that one officer was diſmiſſed from his ſervice, for uſing warm baths; and two others for entertaining a ſinging girl. The men of moſt diſtinction in his army were not permitted to make uſe of any carriages in their march, either for themſelves, or for their baggage; which was allowed to be no more than their ſervants could carry: nor were the number of theſe permitted to be any greater than ſtrict neceſſity required.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 3.

Athenae. L. 13. p. 557.

* L. 4. C. 3.

Front. Strat. L. 4. C. 1.

[A] Ὁ δὲ Φιλιππος ἀεὶ καλὰ πολεμων ἐγαμει. Athen. in loco cit.

AMONG the inſtances of his attention to the modelling and regulating his army, and training up his ſoldiers to the military art, we may reckon one which * Arrian and † AElian both aſcribe to Philip: and that is the inſtitution of the ΔΟΡΥΦΟΡΟΙ, or ſpear-men, as they were called. Theſe were carefully choſen from all the noble families in Macedon; educated and inſtructed, in all liberal accompliſhments, at the royal court, from their earlieſt years, and employed in all offices about the king's perſon. They guarded his chamber-door by turns; they attended him in hunting and in battle; they had peculiar honours and privileges, and particularly were admitted to dine at the king's table. Thus he contrived to keep, as it were, a number of hoſtages, to ſecure the allegiance of all the nobles in Macedon: and theſe youths, early taught to love and reſpect the perſon of their prince, conſtantly under his inſpection, and, of conſequence, fired with emulation to render themſelves worthy of his regard, ſerved as a glorious ſeminary (ſo * Curtius calls them) of future generals and officers; on whoſe abilities and zeal, the king might have the firmeſt reliance. And, for this purpoſe, it was particularly neceſſary, that they ſhould be inured, to an exemplary obſervance of his regulations. Not all the favour which he ſhewed them; not all the affability and condeſcenſion with which he entertained them, as his equals and companions, was ſuffered to encourage them to the leaſt relaxation of his vigorous diſcipline. One of them, who had left his company on a march, to allay his thirſt in a tavern, was ſeverely chaſtiſed. Another, who, when he ſhould have remained under arms, was tempted to lay them down, for the greater convenience of plundering, was put to death without mercy; and without the leaſt regard to his intimacy with the king, which had encouraged him to commit this offence.

* Arrian L. 4. p. 268.
† AElian L. 14. C. 49.
* L. 8. C. 6.
AElian ut ſupra.

AND now it was, that Philip formed the famous Macedonian PHALANX, which afterwards performed ſuch effectual ſervices on many occaſions; which ſo greatly contributed to his ſon's conqueſts in Aſia, and which appeared ſo formidable to the Romans, at a time when its figure and its arms alone remained, without the ſpirit by which it was originally

Diod. Sic. ut ſupra.

originally animated. Homer was the ſource from whence the Grecians drew all their knowledge: and, from the following paſſage of his immortal poem, Philip is ſaid to have conceived the firſt idea of this renowned body:

Ασπις ἀρ' ασπιδ' ἐρειδε; κορυς κορυν, ἀνερα δ' ἀνηρ.
Ψαυον δ' ἱπποκομοι κορυθες λαμπροισι φαλοισι
Νευοντων ὡς πυκνοι ἐφεσασαν αλληλοισι. Il. N. 131.

An iron ſcene gleams dreadful o'er the fields;
Armour in armour lock'd, and ſhields in ſhields.
Spears lean on ſpears, on targets targets throng:
Helms ſtuck to helms, and man drove man along. Pope.

Thus Diodorus relates: but it hath been ſuggeſted, and not without reaſon, that Philip was by no means the original inventor of the Phalanx, but only new modelled and diſciplined a body, with which the Macedonians, as well as all the Grecians, were already well acquainted. In the time of Philip, this Phalanx was compoſed of a body of infantry of about ſix thouſand men, which uſually formed his main battle. Their arms were a ſhort cutting ſword, a large ſquare buckler, four feet in length, and two and an half broad; and a pike fourteen cubits long, called by the Grecians ΣΑΡΙΣΣΑ. This body was uſually drawn up ſixteen in depth: the files were ſometimes doubled, ſometimes divided, as the different exigencies required: and, in the manner of their evolutions and counter-marchings, on ſuch occaſions, Philip introduced an alteration which he deemed of conſequence, as it tended to encourage his own ſoldiers, and to intimidate the enemy. The original manner of this counter-march, which the Macedonians invented, was ſo contrived, as to have the appearance of a retreat; the new method, which was adopted from the Lacedemonians, had an oppoſite effect, and ſhewed like a bold and undaunted onſet.

See note on the life of Philip in the Univ. Hiſt.

Polyb. L. 17.

AElian Tact. C. 28.

* L. 17. p. 764—767. L. 12. 664.

THE ſpace between each Phalangite, on their march, (as * Polybius hath deſcribed this body in the time of the Romans) was four cubits; and the diſtance between the ranks the ſame: as they advanced towards the enemy, the men cloſed to half theſe diſtances; and, when they were to receive the enemy, they locked ſtill cloſer, ſo that the diſtances were but one cubit. Their pikes, as hath been obſerved, were fourteen cubits long. The ſpace between the hands, and that part of the pike which projected beyond the right, took up four, and, conſequently, each pike was advanced ten cubits beyond the body of the ſoldier. So far did they advance towards the enemy, from the ſoldiers of the firſt rank; while thoſe alſo, of all the four ſucceeding ranks, projected beyond the front to their ſeveral proportional diſtances. The ſoldiers of all the other ranks behind the fifth held their pikes, (which could not reach the enemy) raiſed and reclining a little over thoſe before them, ſo as to form a kind of roof to ſecure them from all miſſive weapons. But this was not the only uſe of thoſe ſoldiers, whoſe pikes could not reach the enemy. They were moſt effectually employed in bearing up againſt thoſe who preceded them, and ſupporting them with all their ſtrength. So that the charge was ever made with the whole united force and impetuoſity of all this mighty body; immoveable and impregnable by its union; and without the leaſt poſſibility of a retreat for thoſe ſoldiers who were on every ſide cloſely locked in, and puſhed forward by their comrades.

* ut ſupra.

THE difficulty of ſuſtaining the weight of this body, appears evidently from its deſcription; the difficulty of opening or breaking it * Polybius thus demonſtrates, by comparing it with the diſpoſition of the Roman army. Each Roman ſoldier, ſaith this hiſtorian, takes up in fight two cubits: the ſame diſtance muſt be allowed for ſhifting their ſhields, and wielding their arms. The whole, then, is twice the diſtance of the Phalangites, when they move to attack the enemy. Every Roman, therefore, oppoſes two of theſe, and is obliged to make head again ten different pikes. And, when the Phalanx waits to receive the enemy, the numbers and difficulties are doubled. The efforts of the

aſſailants

aſſailants might indeed ſometimes break one or more in this vaſt foreſt of pikes. But then, (as * Livy hath obſerved in one particular inſtance,) the pike, ſo broken, ſtill continued to fill up the tremendous range, without any vacancy or interval: nor was its broken point incapable of doing execution.

* L. 32. Sect. 17.

A * LATE author of a diſcourſe on the Roman art of war is of opinion, that the principal defect of the Phalanx, lay in its diſadvantageous armour, and order of battle. "In reality, ſaith he, the pikes of the "two firſt ranks, only were ſerviceable in an engagement; thoſe of the "reſt ſcarcely availed any thing. The men of the third rank could not "ſee what paſſed in the front, nor had any command of their long "pikes, which were entangled and locked up between the files, with-"out a poſſibility of moving them to the right or left: hence the Ro-"mans found no great difficulty in ſurmounting an obſtacle, formidable "indeed in appearance, but at bottom very trifling. They had only to "gain upon the pikes of the two firſt ranks, that they might join "the enemy, and fight hand to hand. This they were enabled to do "by their large bucklers, with which they bore up the pikes of the "Macedonians, and, forcing their way under, reached them with their "ſwords. All reſiſtance was then at an end: the Phalanx, unprovided "for defence, and rather embarraſſed than aided by their pikes, could "no longer ſtand the furious charge of the Romans, who made dread-"ful havock with their pointed ſwords. We find at the battle of "Pydna, where Paulus AEmilius gained ſo compleat a victory over "Perſeus, that no leſs than twenty thouſand Macedonians were ſlain, "with the loſs of only one hundred men on the ſide of the Romans. "This, our author adds, it is impoſſible to aſcribe to any other cauſe, "than to the inſufficiency of the pike, when oppoſed to an infantry "armed with ſwords and bucklers."

* Duncan's Tranſlat. of Caeſar's Comment.

IT becomes the writer of this hiſtory to ſpeak with the umoſt caution on ſuch a ſubject: particularly as * Folard, from whom theſe obſervations are almoſt exactly copied, has pronounced poſitively on the inconvenience

* Traité de Colonne. Polybe. Tom. I.

venience of the Macedonian pikes. But it is obvious to remark, that the battle, here brought as an example to eſtabliſh this theory, doth not afford a ſingle circumſtance in favour of it; but, on the contrary, doth remarkably confirm that of Polybius. In the firſt place, we find the conſul AEmilius uſing all poſſible artifice to bring Perſeus from his ground, which he had choſen particularly for the ſake of his Phalanx: and to which he obſtinately adhered, till accident, or rather the policy of the Roman, obliged him to advance. The fight of the Phalanx, though deſcending into a leſs advantageous place, ſtruck AEmilius with horror and amazement. It was attacked with all imaginable gallantry in front, but bore down all before it with ſuch irreſiſtible impetuoſity, that AEmilius rent his garments in an agony of grief and indignation. When the inequality of the ground, the immenſe front of this body, and the confuſion of the battle, began to deſtroy the firm and ſolid form of the Phalanx; then it was, that this able Roman conceived hopes of ſucceſs: then it was, that he ordered his legions to attack it in the intervals and vacancies now laid open. [B] And to this diſpoſition * Livy, in expreſs terms, aſcribes the victory. Had the whole Roman army, ſaith he, continued to make its impreſſion on the front, it muſt have run directly on the Macedonian pikes; nor could it have ſuſtained the weight of this cloſe and firmly compacted body.

Livy L. 44. Cap. 40. cum Sup. Freinſh.

* Ibid. cap. 41.

THE Phalanx, therefore, appears to have been irreſiſtible in almoſt every caſe, but where the inequality, or accidental obſtructions in the ground, or the unwieldineſs, occaſioned by its numbers, made it break or fluc-

[B] NEQUE ulla evidentior cauſa victoriae fuit, quam quod multa paſſim praelia erant: quae fluctuantem turbarunt primo, deinde disjecerunt Phalangem: cujus confertae, & intentis horrentis haſtis intolerabiles vires ſunt. Si carptim aggrediendo circumagere immobilem longitudine et gravitate haſtam cogas, confuſa ſtrue implicantur: ſi vero ab latere aut ab tergo aliquid tumultûs increpuit, ruinae modo turbantur. Sicut tum adverſus catervatim incurrentes Romanos, et interruptâ multifariam acie obviam ire cogebantur; & Romani, quacunque data intervalla eſſent inſinuabant ordines ſuos. Qui, ſi univerſâ acie in frontem adverſus inſtructam Phalangem concurriſſent, quod Pelignis principio pugnae incaute congreſſis adverſus cetratos evenit, induiſſent ſe haſtis, nec confertam aciem ſuſtinuiſſent. Liv. in loco cit.

tuate.

tuate. This was the chief inconvenience attending on the Phalanx, which is ſaid to have been greatly increaſed by the later kings of Macedon, who were enabled to augment this body to ſixteen thouſand men. Though their diviſion of the Phalanx, thus augmented into ten diſtinct battalions, ſeems to have been purpoſedly intended to obviate this inconvenience. And, if once broken, either by the nature of the ground, or the artifice of the enemy in retiring, and tempting the Phalangites to a diſorderly purſuit, or by any other cauſe, the miſchief became totally irreparable, as it was abſolutely impoſſible for them ever to rally and reſume their form.

Oliv. L. 2. p. 64.

Polyb. ut ſupra.

ANOTHER defect of this body ſeems to have been, that its rear was left intirely expoſed and defenceleſs. Men armed with long pikes, and exceeding cloſely drawn up, could, by no means, if attacked behind, face about readily, and preſent their arms that way. Accordingly, we find, that in the battle of Cynocephalae, where the Roman conſul Flaminius conquered Philip, the later king of Macedon, a legionary tribune, with a few manipuli, undertook to break through a formidable body of the Macedonian Phalanx, which continued, after the diſperſion of their comrades, to fight firmly on the right wing; and, by attacking them in the rear, eaſily effected his deſign, cut the hindmoſt to pieces, and obliged the reſt to fly.

Livy L. 33. C. 10.

THE Phalanx, thus formed, Philip juſtly conſidered as his beſt and moſt effectual reſource: and the ſoldiers, of which it was compoſed, he treated with every mark of diſtinction and regard. That affability and affection, which he ſhewed to all his ſoldiers, and which he well knew how to expreſs, without deſcending from his true dignity, were doubled to them. He gave them the honourable title of ΠΕΖΕΤΑΙΡΟΙ, his fellow ſoldiers, a name invented to animate and encourage them, and to ſoften the utmoſt ſeverity of their toils. Such familiarities, ſaith the French tranſlator of Demoſthenes, are eaſily practiſed, and coſt a prince but little, yet frequently prove of the utmoſt conſequence.

Demoſth. Olyn. 1. Sect. 8. Tourreil Not. in Olyn. 1.

BUT

But his different enemies were now pouring down upon him, and made it neceſſary to exert all his efforts and abilities to avert the danger. In his preſent difficulties he deemed it by no means inconſiſtent with his honour, to treat, to promiſe, and to oblige. He began with ſending a deputation to the Paeonians; and, partly by bribing ſome of their chiefs, partly by fair and artful promiſes, (the methods with which he firſt began, and always continued to conduct his deſigns) he prevailed on that people to grant him a peace, and to leave his territories unmoleſted. From this experience of the effectual power of gold, he was induced to try the ſame artifice againſt the people of Thrace, who had eſpouſed the intereſts of his rival Pauſanias. The wealth of the kingdom had been entirely exhauſted by the public diſorders, and gold was now ſo exceedingly ſcarce in Macedon, that Philip is ſaid to have regarded an only cup of that metal, as a poſſeſſion of ſuch conſequence, that, for the greater ſecurity, it was always placed on his pillow. Yet, on this preſſing occaſion, he uſed all his powers to raiſe a ſum conſiderable enough for his deſign; and, by a magnificent preſent, to [c] the king of Thrace, engaged him to abandon Pauſanias and his cauſe. Thus was he extricated from ſome of his immediate difficulties, and, particularly, from the moleſtation of one formidable competitor.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 3.

Athenae. L. 4. p. 155.

But Argaeus and the Athenians gave him ſtill greater uneaſineſs: his intereſts demanded the ruin of the one; the others were to be managed with the utmoſt addreſs and policy. He was ſenſible that, although their diſpoſitions were by no means favourable to him, yet that their great motive for eſpouſing the cauſe of Argaeus, was the hopes of becoming maſters of Amphipolis, a ceſſion which that prince could

Diod. ſic. ut ſupra.

[c] We learn from Thucydides, that, among the ordinary revenues of the kings of Thrace, thoſe preſents were accounted, which their richer ſubjects, neighbouring princes, &c. uſually made to him, as well as to his nobles: and, that Philip, on this occaſion, gratified his pride, as well as his love of gold: for that, in Thrace, it was eſteemed more honourable to receive than to give; contrary to the cuſtom of Perſia. Thucyd. L. 2. Sect. 97.

make

make no difficulty of promiſing, if, by their interpoſition, he might be advanced to the throne. By the ſame conceſſion, Philip might have at once gained their friendſhip: but he clearly ſaw the danger of inveſting thoſe, whom he conſidered as his enemies, with a place of ſuch importance to the peace and ſecurity of his kingdom. He therefore could not think of ſuffering the Athenians to poſſeſs it: on the other hand, he was to act with due caution and delicacy, ſo as, if poſſible, to give no umbrage to this people; and this could by no means be effected, if he ſtill continued to keep poſſeſſion of it himſelf. He therefore determined upon a meaſure, dictated by the extent of his genius and policy. He withdrew the Macedonian forces from Amphipolis; and affected to renounce all claim to that city, by a formal declaration, acknowledging the right of its inhabitants to abſolute liberty and independence, as a Grecian ſettlement, intitled, by the expreſs words and tenour of treaties lately concluded, to the enjoyment of their own laws and privileges, free from the controul of any foreign juriſdiction. By this means, whatever oppoſition ſhould be made to the pretenſions of Athens, was to appear as the act of the inhabitants themſelves. And this declaration of Philip had the appearance of ſuch diſintereſted generoſity, that the people of Amphipolis, in the firſt emotions of gratitude, decreed divine honours to him, as their guardian genius: expreſſed the warmeſt zeal for his ſupport againſt all attempts to diſturb his government at home; while, at the ſame time, they defended his frontier againſt all foreign attacks, that might be made on that ſide.

Polyaen. Stra. L. 4. C. 17.

Ariſtid. Orat. de Societ. Tom. 1. p. 480. Ed. Jebb.

MANTIAS, the Athenian admiral, was now at anchor before Methonè, the city ſo called on the Thermaïc bay, forty ſtadia diſtant from Pydna; and from thence detached a body of troops to reinforce the Macedonians, who had taken up arms for Argaeus; who now appeared at the head of his united army, and preſented himſelf before the city of AEgae. He addreſſed himſelf to the inhabitants in the manner uſual in ſuch diſputes; inveighed againſt the injuſtice of the preſent government; ſupported his own title by every argument which his cauſe could ſupply; and urged every motive of honour and intereſt, which

Diod. Sic. ut ſupra.

might induce them to acknowledge him as their ſovereign, and to fight under his ſtandard. But theſe people had too juſt notions of the merit and abilities of Philip, and of the weakneſs and inſufficiency of his rival, to ſuffer their allegiance to be ſhaken. They, with one conſent, determined to adhere firmly to the intereſts of the preſent reign, and ſhut their gates againſt Argaeus. Diſpirited with this diſgrace, he directed his march back towards Methonè; when Philip, who was now prepared to attack him, fell furiouſly on his rear, and cut it to pieces. The reſt of his army gained a neighbouring eminence, where they were quickly ſurrounded, and obliged to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war.

Demoſth. in Ariſtoc.

In this battle Argaeus fell, and thus freed Philip from all the dangers and commotions which might ariſe from his pretenſions. His Macedonians, Philip diſpoſed among his own troops, and freely admitted them to renew their oaths to him, with a confidence well calculated to attach them to his intereſt. All the Athenian priſoners he treated with the utmoſt diſtinction and reſpect. He commanded, that their baggage ſhould be inſtantly reſtored to them; he expreſſed the greateſt veneration for their ſtate; and the moſt cordial affection, and tender concern, for its citizens; and thus ſent them home, deeply affected with the politeneſs, and humane diſpoſitions, of the young king of Macedon.

Demoſth. ut ſupra.

The Athenian priſoners had ſcarcely arrived at their city, when ambaſſadors from Philip appeared in the aſſembly; where the late conduct of their maſter gained them the utmoſt favour and attention. In his name they propoſed a peace; and a renewal of that alliance, which had formerly ſubſiſted between Athens and king Amyntas. On his part, the faireſt profeſſions were made of regard and amity: and, as to Amphipolis, his deputies were inſtructed to ſpeak of it as a city to which Philip had no claim, and which was no longer dependent on the crown of Macedon, either to hold, or grant to others. His overtures were received with all attention by a people, who, although they derived conſiderable advantages from their conqueſts and colonies in Thrace and

Polyaen. L. 4. C. 17.

Macedon,

Macedon, yet were greatly diſcouraged by the vaſt expence of ſending out and maintaining their fleets, in order to ſupport theſe acquiſitions; and were therefore, at preſent, well inclined to make a peace with Philip, on ſuch honourable terms as he now offered. Theſe, as they conſiſted intirely in words and promiſes, he made no difficulty of propoſing. And they, on their part, did not, as yet, think ſo highly of Philip's power, and were not ſo well acquainted with his policy, as to imagine that he could preſume to violate any treaty which they might conclude with him. They therefore contented themſelves with ſeeing Amphipolis independent on Macedon; perſuaded that they might, at ſome time, recover it by force of arms. Not the leaſt mention was now made of it; but the treaty, without any objection, or difficulty, accepted, concluded, and ratified, intirely to the ſatisfaction of Philip; who, in the depths of his artifice and policy, conſidered it only as a temporary expedient: fully determined, that no engagements, of this nature, ſhould raiſe any obſtructions to his future deſigns.

THESE actions engaged the firſt year of Philip's reign; and, having thus far provided for the ſecurity of his power and kingdom, he received an account of the death of Agis, king of the Paeonians. A ſimilar event had encouraged the Paeonians to diſtreſs and harraſs the kingdom of Macedon; and now Philip, inſtructed by their invaſion, determined to embrace the ſame occaſion of oppreſſing them. He entered their territories with the choice of all his forces, encouraged and invigorated by their late ſucceſſes. The enemy, who marched out to meet him, were utterly defeated, and the whole nation obliged to ſubmit implicitly to the conqueror, and to acknowledge an abſolute dependence on Macedon. Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 4.

PHILIP had now one enemy alone remaining, but this by far the moſt formidable; Bardyllis, king of the Illyrians. The victories which this prince had gained over the brothers and the father of Philip; the ſhameful tribute which they had paid him, and which he ſtill demanded; the acquiſitions which he had already gained in Macedon, Ibid.

and the danger with which his increaſing power ſtill threatened the kingdom; all engaged this prince to revenge the injuries done to his family; to aſſert the honour of his ſubjects, and to provide for his own defence and ſecurity. He therefore aſſembled his ſoldiers; and, by a ſpirited diſcourſe, inflamed their minds with ſentiments of glory; rendered them impatient to engage their old enemy, and to retrieve the honour of their arms; and, having thus prepared them for actions of valour, marched towards the confines of Illyria, at the head of ten thouſand foot and ſix hundred horſe. Bardyllis perceived the approaching ſtorm, but not without emotion: he would have been well pleaſed not to expoſe his reputation, purchaſed by a long life of military toils, to any hazard, againſt a prince in the active part of life, of extraordinary vigour and abilities, and who already appeared formidable by his late ſucceſſes. Ambaſſadors were therefore ſent from the Illyrian, with propoſals of peace, on condition that each party ſhould be acknowledged ſovereign of thoſe places which they then poſſeſſed. To theſe overtures Philip boldly replied, that an equitable and an honourable peace would be intirely conſonant to his inclinations; that he could not regard any peace, as either equitable or honourable, but ſuch a one as ſhould effectually confine the Illyrian within his antient limits. That he ſhould immediately relinquiſh all his conqueſts in Macedon, were the terms which it became the king of Macedon to propoſe; and theſe the only terms he was determined to accept. This ſpirited anſwer put an end to all farther negotiations. The Illyrian king ordered his troops to march; and, with a due intrepidity, ſought out the bold invaders.

Ibid. THE armies of the two nations were nearly equal, that of the Illyrians being compoſed of ten thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe. They were alſo equally animated, though by different motives. The Macedonians ſought to revenge their late diſgraces, and to regain the honour of their arms: the Illyrians came on in the pride of former victories, and were eager to ſupport their advantages, and maintain the glory they had already gained. As they approached, each army endeavoured to ſtrike terror into their aſſailants, by horrid ſhouts and outcries, according to the antient

antient cuſtom of theſe nations. The Illyrians advanced in one large column, of that kind which the Greeks called Plinthion, to fall with all their weight upon the enemy. The right wing and center of the Macedonians were compoſed of their choiceſt infantry, and, among theſe, the Phalanx lately formed. On the left, Philip ſtationed his cavalry, who were ordered to wheel about and attack the Illyrians in flank; while the prince, at the head of his favourite body, ſtood firmly in the front, and bravely ſuſtained their charge. Both ſides fought with equal valour, and victory remained long in ſuſpence. At length, the Macedonian; cavalry began to make ſome impreſſion, both on the flank and the rear of the Illyrians; while all the boldeſt efforts of the Phalanx, and all the military ſkill of their royal general, were exerted to break their front. Victory began, at length, to favour; and, after a long and obſtinate conteſt, to declare for Philip: repeated charges, directed with due ſkill, and executed with becoming valour, obliged the Illyrian column to bend and fluctuate: the Macedonians preſſed their diſordered enemy on all ſides; on the front, the flank, and the rear; and, with great havock, broke and diſperſed the whole army. More than ſeven thouſand fell on the field of battle; and, among theſe, the gallant old king Bardyllis; whoſe mind and body ſtill retained ſuch vigour, that, at the age of ninety, he fought bravely on horſeback. This man had raiſed himſelf, by his valour, from a ſtate of the greateſt meanneſs and obſcurity. Having firſt gained a few followers, he ſupported himſelf by rapine and plunder; and, by remarkable equity and exactneſs in the diſtribution of the prey, attached his followers to his intereſt, and greatly increaſed their numbers. Hence he ſeems (in this ſavage nation, where power was chiefly founded on violence and perſonal bravery, the great mark of merit) to have been enabled to raiſe himſelf to the ſovereignty. In this ſtation he acted with becoming vigour; and now fell in a manner worthy of a warlike prince.

Fron. Strat. L. 2. C. 3.

Lucian in Macrobiis. Photius Biblio. p. 1579.

Cic. de Off. L. 2. Sect. 2.

THE purſuit was, for ſome time, continued with conſiderable ſlaughter; but, as the rout diſperſed and ſeparated the enemy, Philip, who well knew how far to purſue his victory, recalled his ſoldiers to the

the field of battle; where he cauſed the dead to be interred, and, as * Diodorus hath recorded, erected a trophy in honour of this important victory. It is certain, that this account is not agreeable to the eſtabliſhed maxim of his predeceſſors; and that Pauſanias, as hath been already obſerved, aſſerts, that neither Philip nor Alexander ever erected a trophy in honour of any of their many victories. Yet, in the medals which have been preſerved, both of the father and the ſon, we find a reverſe charged with one of theſe memorials of victory; which ſeems to favour the account of Diodorus, and to imply, that Philip did really make this innovation in the Macedonian cuſtoms; and rather choſe to imitate the manners and uſages of Greece. And if ſo, it is a circumſtance the more worthy of attention, as it ſeems to be an indication of the aſpiring temper of this prince. His firſt great ambition was to make his kingdom be conſidered as a true and genuine member of the illuſtrious community of Greece. This was an honour the Greeks were now by no means diſpoſed to grant him; and every circumſtance of diſtinction many of them were ſufficiently ready to point out. Hence might poſſibly have ariſen this affectation of conforming to the Grecian manners: which was by no means accidental, or lightly conceived by Philip; but the reſult of deep deſign, to place himſelf and his ſubjects in a more honourable view than that of barbarians, in which their enemies were willing to conſider them; and to aboliſh every, even the minuteſt, cuſtom, which might tend to preſerve the memory of a diſtinction ſo odious and mortifying.

* L. 16. Sect. 4.

See Demoſth. Phil. 3. Sect. 6. et alibi.

HOWEVER this may be, the ambitious and daring ſpirit of Philip, enlivened and elevated by ſucceſs, now meditated ſtill greater and more extenſive deſigns. The late victory had compleatly freed his country from the incurſions of a dangerous enemy; and reduced Illyria to the condition of a province dependent on Macedon. His abilities, his ſucceſſes, his whole deportment, obliging and engaging, both by nature and by art, all conſpired to captivate the affections of his ſubjects, and to attach them with particular firmneſs to his ſervice. They now ſpoke of nothing but the greatneſs of their king; and, under his direction and

Diod. Sic. ut ſupra.

and command, were prepared to undertake the moſt hazardous enterprizes. Thus animated, and thus ſupported, Philip now determined to go on in that courſe of bold and hazardous enterprizes, which he had hitherto purſued with ſo much good fortune; and, not contented with ſecuring the peaceable poſſeſſion of the throne, (which many princes, ſituated as he had been, would have thought ſufficient for their glory) reſolved to render his kingdom much more opulent and flouriſhing; much more powerful and reſpectable.

AMPHIPOLIS he conſidered as a city, the poſſeſſion of which was, in the firſt place, neceſſary to his future deſigns; and which both glory and intereſt equally prompted him to reunite to Macedon. But many difficulties there were to obſtruct an attempt of this nature, which required the moſt conſummate policy to ſurmount. The Athenians had by no means reſigned their pretenſions, but prepared to reduce the city by force of arms. The Amphipolitans, on their part, had now taſted the comforts of freedom; and determined, if poſſible, to maintain their independence: for this purpoſe, they attached themſelves to the Olynthian league, which had once more grown powerful by the ruin of the Spartans. The people, who formed this confederacy, appeared well-diſpoſed to defend them, both againſt the Athenians, with whom they were, at this time, engaged in a conteſt; and againſt Philip, whom they juſtly dreaded and ſuſpected. Iphicrates, the Athenian, was once more ſent againſt this city, whoſe abilities ſoon made him maſter of all the adjacent poſts. The town was blocked up; when a party of the citizens, in the Athenian intereſt, promiſed to deliver up one of the gates to him, and gave hoſtages for the ſecurity of their performance. Theſe hoſtages Iphicrates committed to the care of Charidemus, the commander of a body of hired troops, who then fought under him, and was himſelf obliged to return to Athens, whither the diſſatisfaction of his countrymen had recalled him. Charidemus, under pretence of reſenting the wrongs of Iphicrates, refuſed to ſerve under Timotheus, who had ſucceeded him, and returned the hoſtages to the Amphipolitans. The Athenians were thus defeated in their hopes of gaining the city; and Timotheus himſelf was ſoon after obliged to raiſe the ſiege, as he had

Demoſth. in Ariſtoc.

had not forces ſufficient to oppoſe the Olynthians and Thracians, with whom he was at one time engaged.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 8.

THE Amphipolitans, thus ſecured from their preſent danger, ſeem to have grown to ſome degree of inſolence, and to have given Philip real, or pretended, cauſes of complaint. The Olynthians plainly perceived, that theſe muſt neceſſarily produce an open declaration againſt them on the part of Philip; and that a place, where many of their ſubjects had ſettled, was in imminent danger of falling under the dominion of a prince, whoſe power was already become formidable to his neighbours. What uſe he might be tempted to make of ſuch an acceſſion of ſtrength; how far their intereſt might be affected, and their welfare rendered precarious by it, was uncertain. They, therefore,

Demoſth. Olynth. 1. Sect. 3.

determined to quiet all their ſuſpicions and jealouſies at once, and to provide effectually againſt all conſequences, by a timely union with Athens; and now ſent their deputies to that city, to propoſe an accommodation and alliance.

SUCH a conjunction could not but appear in the higheſt degree alarming to Philip; his future hopes intirely depended on defeating the deſign; and, for this purpoſe, that artifice and policy, which had always ſo great a ſhare in the ſucceſs of all his ſchemes, were now effectually exerted. His agents were inſtantly diſpatched to Athens: the popular leaders, and public miniſters, were gained; and the people flattered with the faireſt and moſt plauſible declarations. To give theſe an air of greater ſincerity, a negotiation was commenced, and a

Ibid.

formal ſtipulation made, that the Athenians, in the firſt place, ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of Amphipolis; and that they, on their part, ſhould give up Pydna to Philip; which, though famous for its fidelity and attachment to Amyntas; an attachment carried even to adoration, as we learn from * Ariſtides, yet had revolted from Philip, and committed

* Orat. de Societ. Tom. 1. p. 480.

itſelf to the protection of Athens. Under the pretence of preventing the inhabitants of this city from taking the alarm, and ſeeking the defence of ſome other ſtate, the whole tranſaction was privately carried

ried on in the ſenate of five hundred, without being referred, as uſual, to the aſſembly of the people: and, by this means, there was the greater room for evaſion and ſubterfuge, and better opportunity for delays and difficulties. The Athenians, fired with expectations of regaining Amphipolis, the great object of their wiſhes, ſuffered themſelves to be amuſed, and, with the moſt inſolent contempt, refuſed to receive any overtures from the Olynthian deputies; a treatment which juſtly irritated their ſtate, and determined it to give all poſſible oppoſition to the Athenian intereſt.

Theopompus in Ulp. & Suida.

Demoſt. ut ſupra.

THIS was the diſpoſition with which Philip wiſhed to inſpire the Olynthians. He inſtantly applied himſelf to them, while yet their reſentment was violent; he flattered, he courted, he promiſed them, and they readily hearkened to his propoſals. With an air of the utmoſt friendſhip and cordiality, he gave them up Anthemus, a city which ſeparated Olynthus from the ſea, and which had, for a long ſeries of years, acknowledged the juriſdiction of the kings of Macedon: and, thus gratified and obliged, the Olynthians made no difficulty of entering into ſtrict engagements with their benefactor. By theſe means did this conſummate maſter of intrigue diſpel that ſtorm, which, had it once burſt forth, muſt have deſtroyed his riſing greatneſs, and engaged a powerful and important people firmly to his intereſts, who had ever regarded him with envy and diſcontent, and were, but a moment before, prepared to unite with his moſt dangerous antagoniſts.

Dem. Phil. 2. Sect. 4.

STRENGTHENED by this new alliance, he made no ſcruple of avowing thoſe hoſtile intentions, which he had, for ſome time, entertained againſt Amphipolis. He had art ſufficient to perſuade the Olynthians, that their intereſt, as well as that of Macedon, required that he ſhould reduce this city to his obedience. This people had alſo ſome wrongs to urge againſt the inhabitants. It was therefore determined to unite their reſentments; and Amphipolis was preſſed by a vigorous ſiege. The Amphipolitans, more affected by danger, when it had once fallen upon them, than attentive to the means of preventing it, had recourſe to

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 8.

Athens in this emergency, and ſent two of their citizens to deſire the protection of that ſtate. The Athenians had juſt now given an uncommon proof of attention to their intereſts. The iſland of Euboea had been, for ſome time, under their protection; and its reſpective cities were governed by perſons devoted to their ſervice. Diſorders, however, had ariſen; and a ſedition, fomented and ſupported by the Thebans whoſe forces had been admitted into ſome of the cities, threatened the whole iſland with a revolution. Meneſarchus, the governor of Chalcis, had been guilty of ſome outrages againſt the Athenians: Themiſon, who governed in Eretria, had alſo given them a particular cauſe of complaint. He had taken from them the city of Oropus, ſituated on the confines of Attica and Boeotia, and given it into the hands of the Thebans; who ſtill obſtinately refuſed to reſtore it to a people, who either could not, or were not diſpoſed to make uſe of any other means for recovering this city, but thoſe of remonſtrating, and pleading the juſtice of their pretenſions. Yet theſe chiefs now found themſelves obliged to implore the aſſiſtance of the Athenians, who, notwithſtanding all former complaints and quarrels, could not but ſee the neceſſity of ſupporting their intereſt in Euboea, which, by its ſituation, ſerved either to command, or to defend, the country of Attica; and, by its fertility, ſupplied it amply with proviſions. But, although the attempt of Thebes was ſufficiently alarming, yet doubts and delays were ariſing; when Timotheus, the great Athenian general, appeared in the aſſembly. "What, my countrymen," cried he, "the Thebans are in the iſland: "and are you deliberating? why are you not already at the port? why "are you not embarked? why is not the ſea covered with your navy?" So ſpirited an addreſs, determined them at once: in five days, they entered Euboea; in thirty, they obliged the Thebans to come to terms, and to evacuate the iſland; and, on their return, Hierax and Stratocles, the deputies of Amphipolis, appeared before them to implore their aid upon a like occaſion. They repreſented the danger of a junction between Philip and Olynthus in the ſtrongeſt light; and earneſtly preſſed them to ſend out their fleet, to take a city under their protection, which they had long deſired to poſſeſs; and, by that means, to prevent it from falling under the power of their common enemy.

Demoſt. Olyn. 3. Sect. 4.

AEſchin. in Ctef. Sect. 31.

Demoſt. de Cherſon. in fine.

AEſch. ut ſupra.

Dem. Olynth. 3. Sect. 4.

THE

THE late inſtance of their vigour made Philip ſee plainly the neceſſity of having once more recourſe to artifice. He therefore addreſſed a letter to the Athenians, which he well knew how to draw up in the moſt ſpecious and inſinuating terms. In this he acknowledged their pretenſions to the city, which he now beſieged; he renewed the aſſurances of his friendſhip; he declared, that it was his real intention to ſurrender Amphipolis to them; and that, for this purpoſe, and with this deſign alone, he had now laid ſiege to it. The Athenians, who were intirely engaged by a general revolt of their allies, and dependent towns, (which produced the war, called the *ſocial war*) eaſily ſuffered themſelves to be amuſed by theſe repreſentations; and, pleaſed with the leaſt appearance of a pretence to juſtify them in not engaging in an enterprize, for which they were not ſufficiently at leiſure, abſolutely rejected the propoſitions of the Amphipolitan deputies; and refuſed to ſend ſuccours to a city, which they fondly imagined they ſhould receive without any trouble. Philip was thus left at liberty to preſs the city with double vigour; a breach was made in the walls; the Macedonians entered; and the citizens, finding all reſiſtance ineffectual, were obliged to ſurrender themſelves to the mercy of a conqueror, whom they had provoked by an obſtinate defence; though, by an unaccountable inconſiſtency of conduct, they ſtill continued to pay him divine honours.

Demoſt. in Ariſtocr.

Dem. Olynth. 3. Sect. 4.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 8. Dem. Olyn. 3. Sect. 6.

PHILIP, now maſter of Amphipolis, contented himſelf with baniſhing thoſe who had oppoſed him with greateſt violence, and treated the reſt of the inhabitants with ſufficient lenity. His deſign was by no means to exterminate, but to command them. The ſituation and importance of their city, and the extent and conveniencies of its commerce, recommended them to his protection; and determined him to ſhew a juſt regard to the welfare and tranquillity of ſo valuable an acquiſition. Far from gratifying the expectations, which the ſlighteſt grounds had been ſufficient to make the Athenians entertain, he reunited Amphipolis to Macedon, and reſolved to brave all the reſentment of that people; yet, ſtill with due caution and policy, he judged it neceſſary to arm himſelf againſt any effects of that reſentment; and, for this purpoſe, de-

Diod. Sic. ut ſupra.

termined to cement the union which now ſubſiſted between him and the Olynthians.

Dem. Olynth. 1. Sect. 1. Olynth. 2. Sect. 4.

THEY were poſſeſſed of a conſiderable power, both by ſea and land. They had conceived high notions of their own importance, and had already diſcovered their jealouſy of Philip's increaſing power, which, though it had for the preſent ſubſided, yet might ſtill break out, on any future alarm. Favours and benefits, therefore, were the only ſure means of confirming them in his intereſt; and he ſoon found opportunities of gratifying them. The revolt of Pydna afforded him a fair occaſion of marching againſt that city, in order to reduce it to his obedience. The ſiege was formed; and the Pydneans, unſupported by their new ſovereigns, were ſoon obliged to ſurrender. * Libanius and † Ariſtides have both aſſerted, that, at the very time when theſe people were performing thoſe ſolemn rites, by which the terms of their capitulation were ratified, Philip ordered his ſoldiers to fall on them without mercy, and thus cruelly maſſacred a conſiderable number of the citizens. But ſuch an inſtance of barbarity would not, it may reaſonably be preſumed, have been omitted by Demoſthenes, who repreſented all the actions of this prince in the blackeſt light; nor is it at all conſiſtent with the tenor of his actions: for, although his humanity was, on many occaſions, made to yield to his policy and ambition, yet unneceſſary barbarity was neither conſiſtent with his temper, nor his intereſt. It ſeems more reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that he accepted of the ſubmiſſion of the inhabitants, without inflicting any extraordinary ſeverities, and without diſgracing his preſent to the Olynthians, to whom he now gave up Pydna, by putting them in poſſeſſion of a city, depopulated and polluted by the blood of helpleſs wretches, who had laid down their arms, and yielded themſelves up to mercy.

Olynth. 3. Sect. 4. & alibi.

* Liban. Vol. 1. p. 106.
† Ariſt. Orat. de Societ. Tom. 1. p. 480.

Ibid. Phil. 2. Sect. 4. Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 8.

TO gratify the Olynthians ſtill farther, he, in the next place, turned his arms againſt Potidaea. This city had been taken ſome years ſince by Timotheus, and was now in poſſeſſion of the Athenians; but, as it had

had been originally dependent on Olynthus, with profeſſions of the trueſt affection, he made a tender of his aſſiſtance, in order to reduce it to their obedience. His propoſal was readily accepted; and he now marched, at the head of a formidable force, againſt a city by no means capable of contending with the united powers of two ſuch confederates. The gates of Potidaea were ſoon obliged to be thrown open to receive the beſiegers. The Athenian garriſon, from a vain expectation of relief, retired into the citadel, and there continued the oppoſition, till, convinced of their abandoned and deſperate condition, they conſented to yield to ſuperior force, and ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war. In this ſiege, Philip affected only to be conſidered as ally to Olynthus, to be engaged intirely on their account, without any hopes of private advantage. The city, therefore, was inſtantly given up to the Olynthians: but the Athenian priſoners he took under his protection, as the citizens of a ſtate, for which he profeſſed the greateſt veneration and regard. With declarations the moſt flattering, and with every mark of honour and eſteem, he freely diſmiſſed thoſe Athenians, loaded with favours, and conducted, in ſecurity, to their city. Thus tempering his very hoſtilities by a deportment the moſt obliging and careſſing; ſo as ſtill to have room for palliating his conduct, and diſguiſing his moſt flagrant oppoſition, by the ſpecious plea of neceſſity.

Demoſt. Olynth. 1. Sect. 6.

Diod. Sic. ut ſupra.

FAME now began to ſpeak loudly of his actions; and all the adjacent ſtates beheld him with admiration and terror. A ſpirited and ſeaſonable aſſociation might ſtill have cruſhed his growing power; but his manners and qualifications were admirably calculated to fruſtrate ſuch deſigns: his engaging affability, and inſinuating addreſs, ſtole the affections of all who approached him: they who beheld him, could not conceive him dangerous or aſpiring: and, when they had once converſed with him, even the cleareſt evidence could ſcarcely efface their prejudices in his favour. His penetration pierced into their moſt ſecret ſentiments; his caution and policy concealed his own; while he ſeemed implicitly to reſign himſelf up to all thoſe who were admitted to his preſence,

Dem. & AEſch. de falſa Leg. paſſim.

preſence, with an appearance of undeſigning confidence, capable of impoſing on the moſt guarded, and beſt experienced in the ways of men. Hence it was, that the powers, concerned to oppoſe him, were perſuaded, that they enjoyed, or might eaſily acquire, his friendſhip: and, inſtead of concerting meaſures for the general defence, each thought themſelves ſufficiently ſecure, when his arms were turned away from them; and, by this fatal inſenſibility, ſuffered that power to increaſe, without any effectual interruption or controul, which was at length to involve them all in one general ruin.

Demoſthen. paſſim.

PHILIP, on his part, knew how to improve every opportunity, and every inſtance of imprudence in his rivals. He had now firmly ſecured the friendſhip of the Olynthians, by putting them in poſſeſſion of ſome places, which, had he kept himſelf, their garriſons muſt have conſiderably weakened his army. And, having thus provided for the ſecurity of his kingdom; reconciled a powerful neighbouring ſtate to his government, and engaged it in his ſervice by the ties of intereſt and gratitude, his active ſoul prompted him to take the advantage of thoſe favourable circumſtances, and to march out of his dominions in purſuit of farther conqueſts. The people of Thrace had long conſidered Macedon as a diſtrict rent from their dominions: they had frequently infeſted it, and ſometimes with ſucceſs; their late attempt to ſet Pauſanias on the throne Philip's art could improve into a fair cauſe, and juſtification, of hoſtilities. Againſt them, therefore, he now determined to march; and the character of their king gave him juſt grounds to hope for ſucceſs.

Thucyd. L. 2.

COTYS, who at this time governed the eaſtern Thrace, poſſeſſed the Cherſoneſus, and the coaſts of the Egean ſea, as far as the Euxine. He had at firſt diſcovered ſome wiſdom in the adminiſtration of affairs. He ſtrengthened himſelf by an alliance with Athens; and gave his daughter in marriage to Iphicrates; on which occaſion he diſcovered ſuch ſatisfaction, and thought himſelf ſo much honoured, that he even deſcended to wait at table on thoſe who were aſſembled at the nuptials.

Corn. Nep. in Iphic. Athenae. L. 4. p. 131.

He

He had no fixed reſidence in his dominions; but, as they contained the moſt beautiful foreſts, and were watered by many rivers, whoſe banks were embroidered with variety of fragrant flowers, he ranged about with his attendants, and pitched his tents wherever the beauty of the place invited him. Theſe delightful retreats gave a wild and romantic turn to his mind, ſo that he at length conceived the fancy of being inamoured with Minerva. He quitted his court, and pierced into the receſſes of his groves, to enjoy, as he pretended, the converſation of this goddeſs. All preparations were made for the reception of his divine miſtreſs; and his guards ſent out to ſee whether ſhe was not attending to receive him: their anſwers were fatal to them, whether they ſoothed his folly, or declared the truth; in either caſe he revenged the diſappointment, by putting them inſtantly to death. He ordered one of his concubines to aſſume the attributes and ornaments of the Athenian Minerva. In a word, his mind was totally diſordered, which appeared no leſs in his public conduct. He engaged his ſon-in-law to wage war on his country; and, having gained a naval victory over the Athenians, by means of this general, he deprived them of all their territories in the Cherſoneſus, and attacked their colonies on the coaſt of Thrace. To ſupport this war, he demanded a loan from the people of Perinthus, which they refuſed. He then deſired, that they ſhould, at leaſt, grant him ſome troops to replace his garriſons, that he might be enabled to appear with all his forces in the field. The Perinthians flattered themſelves, that it would be in their power to keep thoſe places where they were to be ſtationed, as a ſecurity for his performing the terms of their ſtipulation; and therefore agreed to his demand. But this capricious prince treated their ſuccours as priſoners, and refuſed to diſmiſs them without a ranſom.

Athen. L. 12. p. 531.

Dem. in Ariſtoc.

Ariſtot. Oeconom. L. 2. p. 508. Ed. Lutet.

SUCH was the man againſt whom Philip marched. The particulars of his expedition are not recorded exactly by any hiſtorian now extant: but the Thracian king ſeems to have fled, with precipitation, at the bare rumour of ſo formidable an enemy; for, from a fragment of Theopompus,

pompus, which * Athenaeus hath preſerved, we learn, that, on the third day of their march, the Macedonians poſſeſſed themſelves of Onocarſis, a delightful reſidence, ſituated in the midſt of a foreſt, to which Cotys had opened ſeveral avenues; and which was moſt frequently the ſeat of his enjoyments. The Thracian prince, thus driven from his favourite ſettlement, and unable to oppoſe an enemy who were now freely traverſing and waſting his dominions, vainly hoped to ſtop the progreſs of Philip by a letter. Its contents are not known, but, we muſt ſuppoſe, were in the higheſt degree extravagant. The bare mention of a letter from Cotys raiſed a loud exclamation of contempt and ridicule among the Macedonian courtiers. "Yes," replied Philip, "from "Cotys; doth that excite your mirth? you little think what demands "he makes."

* L. 12. p. 531.

Plut. in Apophth.

THE arms of this prince were as ineffectual as his negotiations. Some few parties of the Thracians were ſent out againſt Philip, whom he with eaſe diſperſed, and purſued his march to the ſhore. He incamped near Crenidae, a colony of the Thracians, equally diſtant from the mountains of Thrace and from the ſea. The beauty of the ſituation was ſufficiently ſtriking: a lake, into which there entered divers ſtreams and rivulets, tempered the dryneſs of the ſoil; which produced fruits of the fineſt and moſt delicious kind, and roſes of a peculiar hue and fragrancy. But Philip, however delighted with the charms of nature, was determined to this reſidence by a much more material conſideration. The grand object of his attention were thoſe mines of gold in the neighbouring mountains, of which he had been well informed, and from whence he promiſed himſelf conſiderable advantages. He drove out the Thracians from Crenidae, which they had juſt built, (without any regard to their alliance with Athens;) ſettled a colony of Macedonians there, and called the place, after his own name, Philippi, ſo famous afterwards, in the Roman hiſtory, for the defeat of Brutus and Caſſius. He then proceeded to examine the ſtate of thoſe celebrated mines; his ſoldiers deſcended, with their torches, into a vein, which had not been wrought upon for a conſiderable time.

Diod. Sic. ut ſupra.

Dem. in Lept. Diod. L. 16. Sect. 9.

Aſclepiodotus in Seneca. Nat. Quaeſ. L. 5. p. 763. Ed Lipſ.

Here

Here they traced the art and labour of the antient poſſeſſors. Canals had been contrived, with infinite pains, to drain off the water, which burſt forth into ſubterraneous lakes; and many circumſtances appeared to encourage and to facilitate his deſign, though the barbarous inhabitants had, for a long time, neglected this important fund of wealth. Numbers were inſtantly employed; and all the contrivances, which ingenuity could ſuggeſt, were made uſe of, in order to work thoſe mines to greater advantage than had hitherto been derived from them. The ſucceſs rewarded his labours; for he, by this means, eſtabliſhed an annual revenue of ten thouſand talents, without any burden or impoſition on his ſubjects. And, however ſeverely the philoſopher [D] Seneca may have ſpoken of this tranſaction, ſuch a reſource will not be thought unworthy of the attention of a wiſe prince. He now ſtruck that celebrated coin, which was called after his own name: which was diſperſed liberally to promote his aſpiring ſchemes, and ſoon became of general high eſtimation, as formed of the pureſt metal which theſe mines afforded. By this he was inabled to reinforce his army with a numerous body of mercenary ſoldiers, of whom many were found in all the neighbouring nations, ready to receive the pay of an opulent and renowned prince: and

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 8.

[D] Aſclepiodotus auctor eſt, demiſſos quamplurimos a Philippo in metallum antiquum olim deſtitutum, ut explorarent, quae ubertas ejus eſſet, quis ſtatus; an aliquid futuris reliquiſſet vetus avaritia: deſcendiſſe illos cum multo lumine, & multos duraſſe dies: deinde longâ viâ fatigatos vidiſſe flumina ingentia, & conceptus aquarum inertium vaſtos pares noſtris, nec compreſſos quidem terrâ ſupereminente, ſed liberae laxitatis non ſine horrore viſos. Cum magnâ haec legi voluptate, intellexi enim ſaeculum noſtrum non novis vitiis, ſed jam antiquitus traditis laborare: nec noſtrâ aetate primum avaritiam venas terrarum lapidumque rimatam in tenebris male abſtruſa quaeſiſſe. Illi quoque majores noſtri, quos celebramus laudibus, quibus diſſimiles querimur nos eſſe, ſpe ducti montes ceciderunt, ut ſupra lucrum ſub ruina ſteterunt. Ante Philippum Macedonem reges fuere, qui pecuniam in altiſſimis uſque latebris ſequerentur; & relicto ſpiritu libero, in illos ſe demitterent ſpecus in quos nullum noctium, dierumque perveniret diſcrimen; & a tergo lucem relinquerent, &c.

SENECA in loco cit.

this coin he liberally diſtributed in all the ſtates whoſe councils or actions might effect his deſigns: where numbers of creatures were thus ſecured in an age of luxury and depravity, who conſidered themſelves as retained by a generous maſter, and obliged to be ever in readineſs to act, to ſpeak, to adviſe, to influence, juſt as his ſervice required, and his commands dictated. And having thus projected and prepared the means of facilitating his future deſigns; and having made all the neceſſary diſpoſitions for the eſtabliſhment of his new colony at Philippi, he proceeded to purſue his advantages over the king of Thrace, who, on the other hand, was as violently preſſed by the Athenians.

Demoſt. in Ariſtocr.

When Timotheus found himſelf obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Amphipolis, ſome time before this city was reduced by Philip, that general fell on Thrace, and there made ſome conqueſts, which might have been improved ſtill further, had he been properly ſupported by Charidemus. But this commander withdrew his mercenaries, and paſſed over into Aſia, where he engaged in the ſervice of Artabazus, a revolted ſatrap. Here he ſoon found himſelf obliged to ſupport his forces, by plundering ſome towns dependent on that ſatrap, whom he came to ſerve. When the ſpoil was well nigh conſumed, and no farther reſource appeared, he pretended to return to the ſervice of the Athenians; and demanded, from their general Cephiſodotus, a fleet to convey him back to Europe, with aſſurances that he would reduce the Cherſoneſus to the ſubjection of the Athenians. This people, encouraged by theſe hopes, granted his requeſt; and Artabazus, by the interpoſition of Memnon and Mentor, his kinſmen, ſuffered him to embark.

Ibid.

Charidemus, inſtead of performing his promiſe, returned to the ſervice of Cotys, and reduced two cities that were under the Athenian juriſdiction; but, the extravagance of this prince increaſing with his ſucceſs, he was aſſaſſinated, in the midſt of his court, by two

two brothers, Python and Heraclides, of the city of AEnus in Thrace; to whom the Athenians gave all the honours which they uſually decreed to the murderers of tyrants, although they had been intirely prompted by private revenge, as Cotys had, ſome time before, cauſed their father to be put to death.

CERSOBLEPTES, Beriſides, and Amadocus, were his joint ſucceſſors; which produced much confuſion, by the attempts of Cerſobleptes to diſpoſſeſs the other two. Charidemus eſpouſed him; Anthenodorus and Miltocythes, who had ſome petty ſovereignties in Thrace, ſupported the intereſt of the others. The Athenians, depending on the ſervices of Charidemus, ſent Cephiſodotus into Thrace, with inſtructions to aſſiſt the coheirs, and to attempt the recovery of the Cherſoneſus. But Charidemus diſappointed their expectations, attacked Cephiſodotus, and obliged him to ſign a treaty, whereby the Athenians acknowledged Cerſobleptes ſole king of Thrace.

AT Athens this treaty was diſavowed, and their general condemned to pay a large fine. Miltocythes, ſupported by the Athenians, aſſerted the right of Beriſides and Amadocus. But Charidemus cauſed him, and his ſon, to be ſeized; and, as he apprehended the clemency of Cerſobleptes, delivered them into the hands of the Cardians, the moſt avowed enemies which the Athenians had in thoſe parts: and this people put them to death, with circumſtances of the utmoſt cruelty. There now remained only Anthenodorus, who, depending on the aſſiſtance of Athens, continued his attachment to the two princes. Athens, however, ſent no other aſſiſtance than their general Chabrias, with a ſingle veſſel; who, as he had no forces, was obliged to accede to all the demands of Charidemus. Diſſatisfied at this tranſaction, and convinced of their error, the people determined to correct it. Chares was ſent to Thrace with a fleet of ſixty ſail; who obliged Cerſobleptes to ſign a more equitable treaty; and Thrace was divided equally between the three coheirs. Ibid.

The king of Macedon was ſtrictly attentive to all theſe tranſactions; and, though he as yet deemed it inconſiſtent with good policy to uſe open force, in order to diſturb any ſyſtem which the people of Athens eſpouſed; yet it was ſufficiently apparent, that he ſtudied to derive advantages to himſelf from the diſorders of Thrace. The Cherſoneſus, the great mart of all the Thracian commerce, from whoſe ports was derived an annual revenue of no leſs than two hundred talents, was deſervedly the principal object of his regards. Here he determined to eſtabliſh an intereſt, by the ſecret methods of intrigue, until the terror of his arms might be more opportunely employed. To the people of Cardia, the principal city of this Peninſula, he ſeems to have applied early; and to have founded his deſigns on their averſion to the juriſdiction of the Athenians, who formerly poſſeſſed, and now claimed, the Cherſoneſus; though the war, in which they were engaged with the allies, prevented them from effectually ſupporting their title. Philip well knew how to take the due advantage of their embarraſſments. He was now powerful and formidable; his kingdom compleatly ſettled; his frontier ſecured and extended on one ſide to the ſea of Thrace, and, on the other, to the lake Lycnitis: his finances were large and well regulated; and all the advantages of commerce abundantly ſecured by the poſſeſſion of Amphipolis. Situated as it were, at an advantageous point of view, he ſurveyed the ſeveral ſtates of Greece; obſerved their different intereſts, tempers, and diſpoſitions, their errors and corruptions: and, with the utmoſt reaſon, exulted in the proſpect, that the deſigns of extenſive power, which his vaſt ambition dictated, were now ripening to execution.

Demoſth. in Ariſtocr.

BOOK I. SECTION III.

CONTENTS.

THE neceſſity of conſidering the genius and character of the principal ſtates of Greece.—The original cauſe, and gradual progreſs, of corruption in that nation.—The character and preſent condition of the Athenians.—Their degeneracy accounted for.—Effects of their paſſion for theatrical entertainments.—The influence of their manners on the theatre.—Their conduct in the public aſſembly.—Their orators.—Their preſent conduct in war.—Their private life.—Circumſtances and diſpoſitions of the Spartans, Argians, and Meſſenians.—Of the Thebans—the Phocians—and the Theſſalians.—Death of Alexander of Pherae.—Uſurpation of Tiſiphonus, Pitholaus, and Lycophron.—Philip invited into Theſſaly.—He defeats and diſpoſſeſſes the uſurpers.—Advantages of this expedition.—The arts by which Philip eſtabliſhed his intereſt in Theſſaly.—Philip eſpouſes Olympias.—The celebration of their nuptials.—Omens and prodigies which antient writers have recorded.—Opinion of Bayle, with reſpect to a letter of Olympias to her ſon.—The Illyrians, Paeonians, and Thracians, join

join in a confederacy againſt Philip.—Their deſigns defeated.—The birth of Alexander the great.—Philip purſues his Thracian conqueſts.—Is checked by the Athenians.—The fatal effects of their errors and paſſions.—Chares, their general, irritates the king of Perſia.—Concluſion of the ſocial war.

BOOK

BOOK the FIRST.

SECTION III.

WE are now advancing to the period of this hiſtory, when Greece began to be the ſcene of many of Philip's enterprizes. The affairs of that nation have already appeared to be in part connected with his earlier actions: and from henceforward we ſhall find, that the events, which diſturbed the peace of its different ſtates, or called forth their armies, were many of them the effect of his machinations, and almoſt all determined by his valour or policy. We ſhall find his life one uniform ſcheme of watching their commotions, fomenting their diſorders, and eſtabliſhing his own power on their weakneſs and corruption. The whole body, collectively, hath been already preſented to the reader. And it may be deemed a neceſſary part of this work, here to conſider its ſeveral leading members, in order to trace the internal cauſes, the latent ſources, of thoſe events, which we ſhall find gradually operating to the full eſtabliſhment of the Macedonian empire, and the final ruin of a people, who have ever appeared highly worthy the attention of all ages; and, from whoſe fall, we may derive ſome of the moſt important inſtructions, which hiſtory holds forth to mankind.

See preliminary diſſertation.

THE different fluctuations of power, and the variety of fortune, which the principal ſtates, in their turns, experienced, had now in-

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ſpired them with the dangerous paſſions of revenge, jealouſy, mutual diffidence, and mutual averſion; and raiſed that ſpirit of diſcord and contention for pre-eminence, which were the great baſis on which Philip founded his deſigns. The ſtates of Greece, ſaith * Juſtin, while each was ambitious of commanding all, loſt that darling object of their wiſhes: and, while they ruſhed on with blind fury to the deſtruction of each other, never perceived, till they were irrecoverably loſt, that the diſtreſſes of every particular member intimately affected the whole body.

* L. 8. C. 1.

THESE continual ſtruggles for power took their riſe from the time that the Perſian had been defeated, and were the chief cauſes of the depravation of manners which then began, and gradually increaſed, in Greece, down to its final ruin. The contending parties frequently found it convenient to apply to the Perſians for aſſiſtance; a nation whom they had hitherto thought it their glory to regard with abhorrence and contempt. But their ambition now made them ſervile and complying. In antient times, their wars were carried on with the ſimplicity and openneſs of a generous and honeſt people; but now intrigue, and cabal, and corruption, began to prevail among them, though by ſlow degrees. Bribery crept in, even where the conſtitution demanded and injoined an utter contempt and diſregard for riches: and Perſian agents were ſeen in every ſtate, practiſing with miniſters, and influencing the public councils.

BUT, as all corruption is gradual, the Athenians (particularly) could not at once forget their original principles, but ſtill expreſſed, on ſome occaſions, thoſe ſublime ideas of virtue and integrity, which had been derived from their anceſtors. When the king of Perſia had ſent his agent to bribe the Peloponneſians to take up arms againſt them, inſtead of revenge and reſentment, they expreſſed the moſt generous indignation at this baſe attempt upon the integrity of Greece: and thundered out a ſevere ſentence of proſcription againſt the

Dem. Phil. 3. Sect. 9.

the man who had preſumed to bring gold into Peloponneſus. But ſuch appearances were never laſting, being generally aſſumed to conceal leſs honourable motives, or were, at beſt, but the temporary effects of ſenſibility and delicacy, which were ſoon forgotten with the occaſion, among a people, where reſolution and conſtancy were wanting, and where that uniformity and conſiſtency of conduct were utterly unknown, which only can render men really good and great, whatever principles they may have imbibed, or whatever character they may aſſume.

ATHENS was now confeſſedly the greateſt and moſt eminent of the Grecian ſtates. The honours which ſhe had acquired in the famous Perſian war, inſpired her citizens with the moſt exalted ideas of virtue and glory. The ſucceſs of their repeated conteſts for liberty and pre-eminence, gave them the higheſt notions of their ſtrength and abilities: and all the tranſactions of their country, frequently celebrated by their writers, and diſplayed in all the pomp of eloquence by their orators, inſpired them with a peculiar national vanity, which continued in its full ſtrength, even in their loweſt ſtate of degeneracy. Various and inconſtant in their tempers and paſſions, they were eaſily provoked, ſaith * Plutarch, and as eaſily returned to ſentiments of benevolence and compaſſion. Admirers of wit, and encouragers of gaiety and pleaſantry: but unfortunately to ſuch exceſs, that a jeſt too often determined them in their moſt important deliberations, and ridicule became their teſt of truth. They poſſeſſed, in a great degree, and even affected, a quickneſs of conception and penetration; but this was unhappily accompanied with an impatience of attention, and an averſion to deliberate and well weighed counſels.

* in Praecep. Reip. ger.

WHEN the Thebans triumphed over the power of Sparta, had their general ſurvived his victories, ſo dangerous a rival might have kept the Athenians duly attentive to their public intereſts: but hiſtory aſcribes their ruin to that fatal ſecurity with which the death of

Juſtin. L. 6. C. 9.

Epaminondas inſpired them. Confirmed in their power, as they thought, and freed from all danger and competition by this event, they now indulged their love of eaſe and ſelf-enjoyment, without any meaſure or controul.

THEIR affluence had been ſucceeded by luxury; and luxury they adorned and recommended by all the arts and refinements of taſte and elegance. Muſic and poetry, public entertainments, and ſpectacles, had ever been the objects of their warmeſt affection; but were now made the buſineſs and occupation of their lives. The loweſt of the people were, in a good degree, judges of the polite and fine arts. Men who excelled in thoſe, were invited and encouraged by their taſte, and rewarded magnificently by their opulence. A public feſtival was, in theſe days, celebrated with more expence, engaged more numbers, and was the object of greater attention, than was granted to the raiſing an army, or to the equipment of a fleet. To the theatre particularly they had ever been moſt paſſionately devoted: and ſome of their meaneſt citizens, when in diſtreſs and captivity, had been inabled to purchaſe relief and liberty, by charming their maſters with the verſes of their admired tragic writers. But now the ſupport of the theatre was become ſo much the concern of the ſtate, that their more ſerious and momentous affairs were ſacrificed to it, by an aſtoniſhing eſtabliſhment, which will here require to be explained.

Dem. Phil. 1. Sect. 13.

Plut. in Nicia.

IN the early ages, the theatre knew not that magnificence, which riches and luxury afterwards introduced. Slight and unadorned edifices were occaſionally raiſed, the people admitted freely to the entertainments, and the right of places and precedence intirely undetermined. The people aſſembled in a tumultuary manner, and the firſt occupier thought himſelf intitled to oppoſe all attempts to diſpoſſeſs him of his ſeat. Hence diſorder and contentions ſometimes aroſe: to prevent which, the magiſtrates ordained, that a ſmall price

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ſhould be paid for places, to reimburſe the expence of erecting the theatre. Though the tax was low, the poorer citizens complained; and Pericles, an able and artful politician, fatally conceived a ſcheme of ingratiating himſelf with them, by removing this pretended grievance. It had been agreed, in a time of tranquillity, that one thouſand talents ſhould be annually depoſited in the treaſury, there to remain inviolable, as a public reſource, in caſe of any invaſion of Attica. This was, for a while, obſerved with the attention uſually paid to all new regulations. But Pericles propoſed, that this ſum ſhould be diſtributed among the poorer citizens, to defray the expences of their theatrical entertainments; with a reſervation, that, in in time of war, it ſhould be applied to the military ſervice, agreeably to the original intention. Both the propoſition and the reſtriction were accepted. But, as relaxations of all kinds degenerate ſooner or later into licence, the people became ſo intoxicated at length with the gay ſcenes, with which riches and politeneſs entertained them, that no public emergencies could induce them to reſign theſe diſtributions; and we ſhall ſoon ſee them forbidding any man, on pain of death, to move for reſtoring what was now called the theatrical money, to the military, or any other public ſervice.

Plut. in Peric. Thucyd. L. 2.

THE theatre, for whoſe ſupport they provided thus amply, was infected by the general depravation; and, in its turn, contributed to diffuſe and increaſe the infection. In the early ages, their drama was eminently remarkable for chaſtity of ſentiment. Immorality, even in the mouth of a vicious character, was known to have excited a loud and general indignation in an Athenian audience. But now their ears were accuſtomed to obſcenity and impiety (though theſe, it muſt be allowed, were never made the great buſineſs of the repreſentation; nor were theſe the qualities, which rendered a character the favourite of the audience.) Formerly, they found alluſions in their admired poets, which were, with pleaſure, applied to expreſs their ſenſe of the valour and virtue of their countrymen; now no

character, however exalted or honourable, could eſcape the wantonneſs and intemperance of their ſatyr. And this unhappy ſpirit of ridicule, with which they were poſſeſſed, depraved their taſte, and corrupted their hearts. When the wiſeſt and beſt of their citizens was to be made the victim of their folly and caprice, he was firſt made contemptible and ridiculous upon the ſtage.

Ariſtoph. Nub.

As public virtue is, in an eſpecial manner, the baſis of a democratical government, when this was impaired, their very conſtitution muſt have contributed to hurry on their ruin. The final determination of all public affairs was in the popular aſſembly; and this aſſembly was now made up of ſeveral diſtinct factions, which almoſt always purſued their own particular views and intereſts; as to be excuſed from perſonal ſervice in war; from contributing their ſhare in the public expences; or the like. The public leaders, and ſpeakers, perceived and flattered this weakneſs. They were the ſprings which moved the whole community; the adminiſtration was, in a great meaſure, committed to them; and they had, [A] ſome time ſince, learned the art of applying it to enriching and aggrandizing themſelves and their families. Many of them were already the penſioners of Philip; and, while they earned his pay, at the ſame time ſecured their own power, and acquired the favour of the people, by flattering their ſupineneſs, and recommending pacific meaſures, under various plauſible pretences. Sometimes the enemy was too weak, and inconſiderable, to be an object of terror to the great ſovereigns and arbiters of Greece: ſometimes he was too powerful and formidable; it was raſh and impolitic to provoke his reſentment; a war was burthenſome and expenſive; the ballance of power a romantic conſideration:

Dem. in Philippicis paſſim.

[A] ARISTOPHANES, in many of his plays, is particularly ſevere on the corruption, and ſervile adulation, of the Athenian orators. An antient poet, from whom Athenaeus hath preſerved ſome fragments, in reckoning up the ſeveral wares and commodities, which were ſold at Athens, cloſes his catalogue, with Κλεψυδραι, Νομοι, Γραφαι. The deciſions of judicial cauſes, laws, and decrees.

ATHEN. L. 14. p. 640.

and

and the true intereſt of the ſtate, to attend to her domeſtic affairs, and to ſecure and improve the advantages of commerce. If ſome bold attempt, upon their dominions, rouſed them from their inſenſibility, then their national pride and vanity dictated the moſt magnificent and pompous decrees and reſolutions: armies were to be raiſed, and navies ſent abroad: but, in theſe magnificent decrees, their courage all evaporated. Affected delays aroſe; their love of eaſe returned; they ſent out ſome mercenary troops (for to theſe were their intereſts now entruſted) commanded by a general, choſen by cabal and intrigue. He ſails out, dreaded and ſuſpected by their allies, whom he oppreſſes and pillages; deſpiſed by the enemy, whom he takes care to avoid; and, when he at laſt appears before the place he is appointed to relieve, it is in the hands of the beſiegers. Thus, like unſkilful boxers (to uſe the ſimilitude of their own *orator) they think of defending themſelves, when they have already received the blow. And this defence generally proved weak and inſufficient, even if exerted ſeaſonably. Their forces then return; their general is brought to a trial; and either condemned raſhly for not performing what, with a wretched collection of mercenaries, unaffected by any ſentiments of honour, or regard for the public cauſe, and unprovided with pay or proviſions, he could not perform; or elſe he ſcreens his cowardice and bad conduct, under the protection of a powerful faction, and ſo eſcapes from public juſtice. It is true, that, even in this ſtate of their degeneracy, ſome acts of valour were performed not unworthy of their early and uncorrupted age: nor did they want able ſtateſmen, or valiant, judicious, and faithful generals: but the firſt had the vices and prejudices of their countrymen to encounter, as well as the oppoſition and eloquence of corrupted leaders: and their greateſt commanders were either laid aſide by the power of faction, or their abilities were rendered ineffectual by the general indolence and miſconduct of the ſtate; or, laſtly, they were condemned raſhly and unjuſtly, and diſqualified from ſerving the public, at the time when their ſervices were particularly demanded.

* Dem. Phil. 1. Sect. 14.

It may not be thought unworthy of attention, to examine what was the manner of private life in Athens, at the eve of its downfal, when every part of its government betrayed ſuch total corruption and depravity: and of this * Athenaeus hath particularly informed us. A love for public ſpectacles was the firſt thing which the youth was taught. There every object, which could inflame their paſſions, was preſented to their view: they hung with an effeminate pleaſure on the muſical airs, with which women were employed to enervate and captivate them: they waſted their important hours, which ſhould have been devoted to diſcipline and inſtruction, in wanton dalliance with the performers; and laviſhed their fortune, and their vigour, in an infamous commerce with theſe, and other women of abandoned characters. The ſchools of their philoſophers were in vain open for their inſtruction; and, poſſibly, theſe might have been held in ſome contempt, as fitted only for the formal and recluſe, and beneath the notice of the man of buſineſs, deſtined to the exalted and active ſcenes of life. Thus, the younger men entered into what is now called the world, totally ignorant, and conſiderably corrupted: already accuſtomed to regard all ſelfiſh gratifications, as their chief happineſs; and prepared to acquire the means of theſe gratifications, by the moſt ſordid, or the moſt iniquitous practices. Their love of money, or their incapacity for more rational entertainment, engaged them in gaming; which, when frequently indulged, is well known to grow into an infatuating habit, which taſte and reflection cannot always ſubdue. Magnificent and coſtly feaſts were now alſo become honourable diſtinctions at Athens. The ſordid gratification of their palate became the ſtudy, and exerciſed the invention, of its inhabitants. Thus was their wealth laviſhly and ignobly waſted, while the public exigencies were ſparingly and reluctantly ſupplied. * Athenaeus hath even recorded one almoſt incredible inſtance of their depravity. They had lately, as we learn from this author, conferred the freedom of their city (the higheſt compliment uſually paid to kings and potentates) on two men, whoſe only merit was, that their father had been eminent

* L. 12. p. 534.

Athen. ut ſupra.

* L. 3. p. 119.

eminent in the art of cookery, and was famous for having introduced new ſauces.

SUCH was the people with whom the king of Macedon was principally engaged. Their inſolence and oppreſſion had, at this time, involved them in an important conteſt with their allies and dependent cities, whom they had driven into rebellion. They began their operations, againſt thoſe revolters, by the ſiege of Chios; where Chabrias, one of their commanders, remarkable for vigour, humanity, and integrity, unhappily attempted to puſh up to the city with a ſingle veſſel; and, in a tranſport of romantic valour, leaped on ſhore; diſdained to retire, though deſerted by his ſoldiers; was ſurrounded, and killed. Every loſs of this nature, at a time ſo critical, was of the utmoſt importance to this people. Yet thoſe generals, whom war ſpared, their own caprice, and blind prejudices, frequently deſtroyed. Nep. in Chab.

OF the other ſtates of Greece, Sparta ſtill was conſidered as the moſt eminent; though its power had received the deadly wound by the ſucceſſes of Epaminondas. Ageſilaus, who had raiſed this ſtate to the ſummit of glory, lived to be witneſs of its fall. Archidamus, his ſon, never failed to watch all occaſions of recovering ſome ſhew of that power which Sparta had formerly poſſeſſed. The ſucceſſes of Epaminondas had been particularly favourable to many of the inhabitants and people of Peloponneſus. His truly humane diſpoſitions, and his juſt and extenſive policy, both determined him to reſtore thoſe to their liberty and independence, who had been harraſſed and oppreſſed by Sparta; and to ſupport the intereſts of thoſe neighbouring ſtates, who had experienced the ſeverity of her dominion. Hence were the people of Argos (who remembered, with pleaſure, the generalſhip of Agamemnon, and entertained high notions of their own dignity) encouraged to avow that enmity which they had ever harboured againſt the Spartans. The Arcadians, by the advice Xenoph. Hiſt. Grae. Diod. Sic. L. 15.

and

* In Arcad. and with the aſſiſtance of the Theban general, according to * Pauſanias, conſulted for their ſecurity by collecting all their force into one common city, which they built, and called Megalopolis, or the great city.

Diod. ut ſupra. The Meſſenians, after a diſperſion of many ages, were alſo reſtored by Epaminondas, and rebuilt and fortified the city, from which their anceſtors had been driven by the Spartans. Thus was Sparta ſurrounded by many ſecret or declared enemies, who had felt, and therefore dreaded, her oppreſſion; ever watchful to maintain their preſent liberty, and ever jealous of their antient maſters; who, on their part, regarded them as revolted ſubjects, and ſhewed ſufficient inclination to reduce them to their former obedience. Hence aroſe a ſpirit of diſcontent and diſſenſion among the inhabitants of Peloponneſus, which it was Philip's intereſt to foment, and from which he afterwards derived conſiderable advantage.

Olivier L. 3. p. 114. SUSPICION, ſtupidity, and bravery, formed the character of the Thebans. Theſe qualities, united, frequently produced the moſt ſingular reſolutions in that people: but, while Epaminondas was at their head, no defects appeared in their minds: this great man rendered them ſovereigns of Boeotia, and the arbiters of Greece. But with him their glory was extinguiſhed. They retained only a brutal fierceneſs, and an inveterate hatred of their neighbours. The only general they had, after Epaminondas, was Pammenes, who, in his youth, had been attached to Philip by the ſtricteſt and tendereſt friendſhip.

Ibid. THE Phocians were naturally obſtinate; and did not want valour. They were oftentimes unjuſt, and ſometimes generous. Their minds were open; their genius ſufficiently cultivated and elevated. Their miſconduct involved them in calamities, which were attributed to their impiety, and, therefore, leſs pitied; yet, in theſe calamities, they diſcovered a remarkable firmneſs and greatneſs of ſoul. The moſt diſtinguiſhed part of their character, was an unſurmountable antipathy

antipathy to the [B] Thebans, Locrians, and Theſſalians, their neareſt neighbours.

THE Theſſalians were ſuſceptible of all impreſſions, and incapable of preſerving any; equally forgetful of the good and evil which they received: ever ready to ſubmit to tyrants, and to implore the ſuccour of their neighbours againſt them. They now obeyed Tiſiphonus, Lycophron, and Pitholaus, who had removed Alexander of Pherae, only to have an opportunity of continuing his injuſtices. Olivier ut ſupra.

THIS Alexander was the moſt deteſtable tyrant that Greece ever knew. He had maſſacred, in cold blood, his father-in-law, his uncle, and a number of his ſubjects. Nor was he ever known to have diſcovered the leaſt feelings of humanity, but at the repreſentation of the Andromache of Euripides; from which he retired with ſhame and confuſion, for being betrayed into tears, at the ſight of imaginary misfortunes, after all the horrid cruelties which he himſelf had committed. Plutarch. in Pelop.

THEBE, the wife of this Alexander, quite tired out by his barbarity, and ſpirited up by the interviews which ſhe had with Ibid.

[B] Some particular cauſes of enmity ſeem to have lately ariſen between Thebes and Phocis, and to have effaced the memory of that alliance which ſubſiſted between them in the late war with Lacedemon. Juſtin (in L. 8. C. 1.) hints at ſome outrages and devaſtations committed by the Phocians in the territories of Boeotia; of which the Thebans complained in the council of Amphictyons, and which therefore ſeem to have been committed before any hoſtilities were declared, though that hiſtorian appears to be of a contrary opinion. And we learn from Athenaeus, (L. 13. p. 560) that Duris, an antient hiſtorian, recorded one particular act of violence in the Phocians, ſome ime ſince committed againſt Thebes. Theano, a Theban lady, was ſeized, and forcibly borne away from her huſband, by ſome lawleſs inhabitants of Phocis: nor could the remonſtrance made to that ſtate prevail to have her reſtored. Such actions had, in antient times, produced the bloodieſt conteſts: and the hiſtorian above mentioned makes this particular outrage the real cauſe of the ſacred war.

Pelopidas, at the time when he had been ſeized and confined by Alexander, at laſt reſolved upon his deſtruction. The execution was difficult: the tyrant's palace was always filled with his guards: and even in theſe he did not wholly confide. He lay in a high and retired chamber, to which he mounted by a ladder. This he drew up after him; and the paſſage was guarded by a furious maſtiff, whom nobody dared to approach, but Alexander, his wife, and the ſlave who fed him.

Plut. in Pelop. THEBE concealed her brothers Tiſiphonus, Lycophron, and Pitholaus, in the palace. And, at night, having come to the tyrant's apartment, ordered the ſlave, who had the care of the maſtiff, to remove it, as it diſturbed the king's reſt. She then went down the ladder, which ſhe had taken care to cover all over with wool to prevent the leaſt noiſe; brought up her brothers, poſted them at the door, and ſhewed them the ſword of Alexander, which was the ſignal agreed on. Juſt at the point of execution, the youths began to heſitate; but Thebe threatened that ſhe would awaken the tyrant; they reſumed courage; one of them ſeized him by the feet, another by his hair, and the third buried a dagger in his heart.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 14. TISIPHONUS, Pitholaus, and Lycophron, were now regarded as the deliverers of their country. But they did not long appear ſolicitous to maintain this honour. Tempted by the ſplendor of a ſtation, which their father Jaſon had poſſeſſed, they aſſumed the power, and, in a great meaſure, imitated the conduct of Alexander. They hired a large body of foreign troops to ſupport their uſurpation; and puniſhed, or baniſhed, all thoſe who attempted to oppoſe them: until the nobility of Theſſaly, with the Aleuadae, deſcendents from Hercules, at their head, finding themſelves oppreſſed by three tyrants inſtead of one, declared openly againſt them:

them: and implored the assistance of Philip, now confessedly the greatest of all the neighbouring powers. Olymp. 105. Y. 4.

NOTHING could have possibly been more flattering than this invitation. The honour of assisting the Aleuadae, who were descended from the same race with him; and of imitating the renowned Pelopidas, in giving liberty to Thessaly; the long wished for opportunity of interfering honourably in the affairs of Greece; of affecting a natural connexion with that nation, and appearing interested in the peace and liberty of its states; all conspired to determine Philip at once to suspend the progress of his Thracian conquests, and to march against the tyrants. Delighted with the prospect of displaying his power in the most honourable manner, and having first seized Larissa, according to * Justin, he advanced, with all his force, towards Pherae, situated between Magnesia and the Pelasgiotae, at a little distance from mount Pelion, which separates these provinces from Macedon. The tyrants, who had collected their army to oppose this invasion, met the Macedonians, and determined to try their fortune in the field. Here the abilities of Philip, and the superior zeal and vigour of his soldiers, soon determined the fortune of the battle. The army of the tyrants was totally defeated; and they themselves, pressed by a victorious enemy, and deserted by their adherents, were soon obliged to acknowledge the superiority of the conqueror, and to submit implicitly to his decisions; who now compelled them to resign their usurped authority, and to leave their country in peace and freedom: while all Greece resounded with the praises of the great protector and defender of liberty; the avenger of tyranny; and generous patron of the oppressed.

* L. 7. C. 6.

Diod. Sic. ut supra.

BUT renown and popular applause were not the only advantages which Philip derived from this expedition. The nobility of Thessaly imagined, that they never could sufficiently express their acknow-

Dem. Phil. 1. Sect. 10. Tourreil. Not. inPhil. 1. Olynth. 3. Sect. 9.

ledgments to their noble and humane deliverer; and, in the first heat and violence of a zealous gratitude, concluded a treaty with him, by which he was impowered to command all the conveniencies of their ports and ſhipping. Their cavalry was remarkably the beſt and moſt celebrated in Greece: and theſe were now obliged to attend him in all his wars. Such an acquiſition only was wanted to render his forces compleat: and he is ſaid, by the * abbreviator of Trogus, to have been prompted to this expedition by the hopes of obtaining it. In effect, Philip had too much penetration, not to foreſee all the good conſequences of his undertaking; and too much vigilance and policy, not to ſecure them. His conduct in Theſſaly, as it is deſcribed by * Polyaenus, was the exact epitome of his whole ſyſtem, and general courſe of his addreſs and artifice. He watched the contentions in the ſeveral cities, with a ſtrict and attentive regard; encouraged or allayed, fomented or decided, thoſe quarrels which different opinions and attachments had produced among a diſtracted people, juſt as his own views and intereſts directed. He was ſo compleat a maſter of diſſimulation; he appeared ſo gentle, ſo humane, ſo affable and obliging, ſo amiable, even to the conquered, that the Theſſalians reſigned themſelves to him with a total confidence. Thus was he inabled to ſet himſelf up in the place of thoſe he had ſubdued, not by open force, but by gentle and unſuſpected, and not leſs effectual, methods.

*Juſtin. L. 7. C. 6.

* Strat L. 4. C. 19.

Tourreil. Not. in Olynth. 1.

PHILIP was now returned to his own kingdom in all the pride of conqueſt; honoured, admired, and applauded; when Olympias, the young princeſs, whoſe charms had engaged his affections at Samothrace, was conducted, with all due magnificence, to his court, and their eſpouſals were publicly celebrated. Neoptolemus, king of Epirus, the father of this princeſs, had lately died, and was ſucceeded by his brother Arymbas, (or Arybbas, as he is called by Pauſanias and Juſtin.) The better to ſecure the peaceable poſſeſſion of his throne, he determined to unite, in his perſon, all the rights of his

Juſtin. ut ſupra.

his family, and married Troas, one of his nieces: and, to purchaſe the favour and alliance of a prince, whoſe reputation was become great and extenſive, he now gratified Philip's paſſion for her ſiſter Olympias.

THE queen of Macedon had beauty, ſpirit, and elevation. She appears to have at firſt loved her huſband with ſufficient tenderneſs; till the repeated inſtances of his unfaithfulneſs raiſed other ſentiments in her mind. Theſe could not but ſufficiently affect her, although her reſolution inabled her to conceal the impreſſion for a while. She was at one time told of a beautiful Theſſalian lady, called Philinnè, with whom Philip was ſaid to have been deſperately inamoured. In compliment to the queen, her courtiers affected to aſcribe this to ſome charm or philtre, which forced the affections of the king from their proper object. Olympias deſired to ſee her: and, finding that her beauty and graces far exceeded report, "Yes!" "ſaid ſhe, "I now perceive what are the inchantments this fair "Theſſalian employs." Oliv. L. 3. p. 124.

THE nuptials of Philip and Olympias were celebrated with the utmoſt ſplendor. The ſuperſtitious obſerved, that a dramatic performance was exhibited, on this occaſion, called the Cyclops; and that ſoon after Philip loſt an eye. This loſs was even ſaid to have been occaſioned by a jealous curioſity of prying into the conduct of his queen, who is accuſed thus early of unfaithfulneſs, with many fabulous and extravagant circumſtances, calculated to make the birth of Alexander appear the more extraordinary. The antient writers, indeed, imagined, that every thing, relating to this hero, ſhould have an extraordinary and important appearance; and have taken care to furniſh a ſeries of dreams, prodigies, and predictions, all expreſſive of his future fortune, from the moment of Philip's nuptials, down to the birth of Alexander. Olympias is ſaid to have dreamed, the night before the conſummation of her marriage, that a thunderbolt fell upon her body, which kindled up a conflagration, whoſe flames diſperſed Oliv. p. 125. Solin. Plut. in Alexand.

diſperſed and raged to a conſiderable extent, and were then extinguiſhed. Philip alſo had his dream a little after, in which he fancied himſelf employed in ſealing up the womb of his queen with a ſignet, whoſe impreſſion was a lion. Some interpreted this, ſaith * Plutarch, as a warning to the king to watch over the behaviour of his wife: but Ariſtander, his favourite interpreter of divinations, reflecting that it was not uſual to ſeal up any thing that was empty, aſſured him that this dream denoted, that the queen had now conceived a ſon, who ſhould hereafter prove bold and courageous as a lion.

* in Alex.

FLATTERY, and indulgence to the weakneſs of Alexander, who, when intoxicated with his ſucceſſes, conceived the vanity of being thought the ſon of Jupiter, ſeem to have given riſe to the fiction of an enormous ſerpent diſcovered by Philip in ſtrict intercourſe with his queen. The ſight of a ſerpent in her bed, ſome of the antients do not allow to have been ſo very extraordinary, in a country where they were tame and harmleſs; and as Olympias, who was remarkably devoted to the celebration of the enthuſiaſtic rites of Orpheus and Bacchus, is ſaid to have danced in theſe ceremonies with great tame ſerpents twining round her, ſometimes interwoven with the ivy of the ſacred ſpears, or with the chaplets of her attendants, in order to inſpire ſpectators with the greater awe and horror. Yet, from henceforward, ſaith Plutarch, his affection ſenſibly abated; and, whether he feared her as a ſorcereſs, or imagined that ſhe held a commerce with ſome god, and was afraid of offending a ſuperior rival, his correſpondence with her became leſs frequent: and, having ſent to conſult the Delphian oracle on this alarming occaſion, he received for anſwer, that he was to pay peculiar honours to Jupiter Ammon, and muſt expect to loſe that eye, which had preſumptuouſly intruded on the ſecret communication of a divinity with his wife. According to * Juſtin, Olympias herſelf firſt ſuggeſted the account of the ſerpent; and is ſaid by Eratoſthenes, an antient hiſtorian,

See Bayle in Art. *Olympias.*

Plutarch. in Alexand.

* L. 9. C. 9.

hiſtorian, to have informed her ſon, as he was preparing for his expedition into Aſia, of the ſecret of his birth. But this information ſeems to have been no more than clearing up the ſuſpicions of his legitimacy; and aſſuring him, that he was really the ſon of Philip, whoſe actions might, with all propriety, have been urged as an incitement to his ſon to approve himſelf worthy of ſo great a father. This ſentiment ſeems to be confirmed by the well known anſwer of Olympias to her ſon's letter, in which he ſtiled himſelf the ſon of Jupiter. For, when the queen complained, that Alexander *made miſchief* (if I may be allowed the expreſſion) between her and Juno, I cannot conceive it in any other light, but that of raillery on his fantaſtical vanity. [c]

Plutarch. in Alex.

Aul. Gellius L. 13. C. 4.

THE preſent nuptials ſeemed to have intirely engaged the court of Macedon, which now became a ſcene of general pleaſure and feſtivity, in honour of the royal lovers. The ſecret and avowed enemies of Philip thought this a favourable opportunity to attempt the recovery of that power, and thoſe dominions, which his arms had won from them; and, by one ſudden and united effort, to cruſh his riſing greatneſs. The kings of Illyria, of Paeonia, and of Thrace, joined in a ſtrict confederacy, and meditated an invaſion of Macedon with all their powers. Their ſcheme was artfully conceived, conducted

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 22.

[c] So Gellius underſtood it.—*Olympiadem* FESTIVISSIME *reſcripſiſſe legimus*—— *Amabo mi fili quieſcas, neque deferas me, neque criminere adverſus Junonem.* L. 13. C. 4. But, though Bayle allows that this has an air of raillery, yet he does not admit, that it warrants us to ſuppoſe, that Olympias denied any connexions with Jupiter, or intended to diſcredit any ſuch reports; but only would perſuade her ſon not to boaſt publicly of his birth. The terms, ſaith he, which Plutarch makes uſe of, ſignify no more, than that ſhe recommends it to her ſon to be ſilent. (See Bayle Dict. Hiſt. in Art. *Olympias.*) The words to which he refers, and which Plutarch aſcribes to her, are theſe: Οὐ παυσῇ με διαβαλλων Αλεξανδρος προς την Ἡραν; which the Latin interpreter renders *non deſinet Alexander in crimen me apud Junonem vocare?* But διαβαλλειν, διαβολη, and ΔΙΑΒΟΛΟΣ, are Greek words generally agreed to relate, not ſo properly, or, at leaſt, not ſo uſually, to accuſations founded on truth: but to expreſs ſomething of malice, or falſhood, in the action or perſon, not barely of indiſcretion.

with

with all ſecrecy, and had the faireſt proſpect of ſucceſs. But, in the midſt of all his gaiety, Philip's attention was not a moment diverted from his more important concerns. Among all the neighbouring nations he had his ſpies and emiſſaries, ſtudious to merit his liberal pay by their vigilance, who never failed to inform him faithfully, and minutely, of every motion and tranſaction, by which he might be affected. While theſe new allies, therefore, were yet employed in making their preparations, Philip ordered Parmenio, the general in whom he moſt confided, to march into Illyria, while he himſelf ſurprized the Paeonians, and reduced them to ſuch a ſtate of ſubjection, as appears to have rendered them incapable of giving him any farther oppoſition: (for, from this time, hiſtory makes no mention of any attempt to recover their independence.) From thence he marched into Thrace, to confound the ſchemes of his enemies, and to chaſtiſe their deſigns againſt his peace. Here, while engaged in ſpreading the terror of his arms, he received the pleaſing news of a victory, gained by Parmenio over the Illyrians. His couriers, at the ſame time, arrived to inform him, that the chariots, which he had ſent to the Olympic games, had there obtained the prize. Proud of this event, the moſt authentic proof of his being acknowledged a true and legitimate ſon of Greece, he determined to preſerve the memorial of it, by impreſſing thoſe victorious chariots on his coins. But, ſcarcely had theſe joyful advices been received, when another, of ſtill greater moment, was now brought to Philip, that his queen was delivered of a ſon at Pella. A prince, born in the midſt of ſuch joy and ſucceſs, his diviners aſſured him, muſt neceſſarily prove invincible; and the king, deeply affected by theſe inſtances of good fortune, breathed out his prayer in rapture, that the gods ſhould ſend him ſome misfortune to temper all his accumulated happineſs.

Plutarch. in Alex.

Plutarch. Apophth.

Plin. L. 36. C. 14. Euſeb. Cappel.

THE moſt accurate chronologers fix the birth of Alexander to the firſt year of the hundred and ſixth Olympiad, in the month called

by

by the Macedonians Loüs, which, at this time, anſwered not to the Attic month Hecatombaeon, as Plutarch aſſerts, but to Boedromion, the third of the Attic year, as appears from a letter of king Philip, preſerved in the * oration of Demoſthenes on the crown. Nor can we agree with Plutarch in fixing it to the time of the reduction of Potidaea, without contradicting, not only † Demoſthenes, but ‡ Diodorus, who is moſt accurate in his chronology; and expreſſly determines the taking of that city to the third year of the hundred and fifth Olympiad. Antiquity hath been careful to furniſh his birth with a number of preſages and omens of his greatneſs. Thunderings, and lightnings, and earthquakes, were ſaid to have announced this extraordinary event; and two eagles, by perching on the palace in which his mother lay, to have foretold his future empire over Europe and Aſia. But his birth was really attended by one incident, which may, with ſome appearance of propriety, be called a preſage of his future actions. On that very day, in which he firſt ſaw the light, Eroſtratus (for hiſtorians name him, notwithſtanding the decree of the Epheſians to forbid it) ſet fire to the temple of Diana at Epheſus, from the ſole motive of immortalizing his name. And this accident ſeemed ſo expreſſive of the character of Alexander, that, poſſibly, the imagination of hiſtorians invented the relation which Plutarch gives us, that the prieſts and diviners at Epheſus, looked on the ruin of their temple as the forerunner of ſome other terrible calamity; and ran frantic through the city, crying out, "This day hath brought forth ſomething, which will prove de-"ſtructive to all Aſia."

* Sect. 51.

† in Orat. ſept.

‡ Lib. 16. Sect. 8.

Mela 2, 3. Serv. in Virg. Georg. 4. 278.

Plutarch. in Alexand.

THE famous letter, which Philip now wrote to Ariſtotle, muſt not be omitted in this place. 'The king had always affected an extraordinary reverence for this philoſopher; and condeſcended even to attend with deference to his precepts of morality, and maxims of government. On the preſent joyful occaſion, he expreſſed his ſenſe of the ſage's merit, and of the importance of making the earlieſt and

Ariſtot. Epiſt. in Fragment. AElian. L. 8. C. 15.

moſt effectual proviſion for the future inſtruction of his infant ſon, by addreſſing the following letter to Ariſtotle:

Ariſt. ut ſupra. "King Philip, to Ariſtotle. Health!"

"YOU are to know, that a ſon hath been born to us. We "thank the gods, not ſo much for having beſtowed him "on us, as for beſtowing him at a time when Ariſtotle lives. We "aſſure ourſelves, that you will form him a prince worthy to be "our ſucceſſor, and a king worthy of Macedon. Farewel!"

SUCH inſtances of his reſpectful attention to men of learning have made hiſtorians ſpeak in the higheſt terms of his greatneſs of mind, and juſtneſs of ſentiment. Nor could they have failed to raiſe his reputation in Greece, where philoſophy was held in ſuch veneration, and accounted one of thoſe honourable diſtinctions, which marked out the ſuperiority of that nation over the barbarian world. Nor can it ſeem improbable to thoſe who conſider the character of this prince, that a politic regard to his reputation might have had as great a ſhare in theſe condeſcenſions, as his real ſenſe of the value and dignity of thoſe men, who devoted themſelves to the ſtudy and propagation of knowledge.

THE birth of Alexander was an event which might naturally have been expected to cement the union between Macedon and Epirus: and yet it ſeems probable, from a paſſage in the third * Olynthiac oration of Demoſthenes, where the orator traces the progreſs of Philip's conqueſts, that, about this time, he committed ſome hoſtilities againſt Arymbas, either to puniſh ſome ſecret practices, into which this prince's jealouſy of Philip might have betrayed him, in favour of the late attempts of Illyria and Paeonia; or to gratify Alexander, the brother of Olympias, by diſmembering the kingdom of Epirus, in order to inveſt him with ſome of its dominions.

* Sect. 6.

Hiſtory ſpeaks but obſcurely of his conduct with reſpect to this prince, and the affairs of Epirus; and ſometimes with apparent inconſiſtency, which hath occaſioned a difference in the repreſentations of modern critics and compilers. But to diſcuſs theſe particularly might lead us too far from the principal ſubject: nor is it neceſſary to the underſtanding the general tenor of this hiſtory.

Juſtin. L. 8. C. 6. L. 17. C. 3. Tourreil Not. in Olyn. 3. Rollin Hiſt. de Philippe.

To Thrace we now return, where Philip was at leiſure to purſue his advantages; to attend to the conteſts and diſtractions of the native inhabitants, and to the motions of the Athenians, whoſe antient valour had here gained ſome ſettlements, which, by their miſconduct, were now either loſt, or rendered precarious; and who made ſuch efforts to regain them, as their corruptions or embarraſſments could admit of; and watched and thwarted the attempts of Philip with an impotent jealouſy. This prince, who knew the importance of gaining an extenſive power and intereſt in this country, the ſource of wealth and commerce, the magazine from whence Greece was ſupplied with many of the neceſſaries and conveniencies of life, advanced as far as Maronea, where he was joined by Pammenes the Theban, with a conſiderable reinforcement, ſent to favour the attempts of the enemy of Athens. He held a private correſpondence with Charidemus, and might have compleated the conqueſt of this country, had he not been oppoſed by Amadocus, aſſiſted by the Athenians, with whom good policy did not as yet permit him to come to an avowed rupture. Diſſenſions and conteſts were ariſing among the Grecians: many of whom any open and violent attack on a principal ſtate might have quieted and united. An affected regard to his treaty, a patience even of ſome hoſtilities and inſults, might give an appearance of ſelf-defence, or juſtifiable revenge to any hoſtilities, which he might hereafter find it convenient to commit, while his enemies were loaded with the odium of being the firſt and unprovoked aggreſſors. A fatal mixture of ſtrong national vanity and degeneracy, which prevailed at Athens, was every day

Demoſthen. in Ariſtocr.

rendering that ſtate leſs formidable and powerful, and encouraged their enemy to wait till their capricious and violent paſſions had totally waſted their ſtrength.

THESE had already operated in a manner which muſt have been highly pleaſing to Philip, by depriving them of the ſervice of two illuſtrious generals, Iphicrates and Timotheus. When Chabrias fell, (as hath been related) in the ſocial war, the confederates laid ſiege to Samos, with all their force, which amounted to one hundred ſhips. The Athenian navy, commanded by Chares, the undeſerving favourite of the popular aſſembly, conſiſted but of ſixty. As it was therefore neceſſary to relieve a place, which had ever been firmly attached to them, and, as they were alſo alarmed by Philip's progreſs, another fleet of equal force was fitted out, and intruſted to the command of Meneſtheus, the ſon of Iphicrates, and ſon-in-law to Timotheus, with inſtructions that he ſhould conduct himſelf intirely by the advice of theſe two great men, who imbarked with him. Upon the junction of the two fleets, it was agreed to make a diverſion, by laying ſiege to Byzantium, one of the principal cities in the confederacy. The allies abandoned the ſiege of Samos, and the two fleets were upon the point of an engagement, when a ſudden ſtorm aroſe. Chares confidently propoſed to begin the attack: but Timotheus and Iphicrates, more cautious and experienced, ſaw the diſadvantage, and declined the engagement. For this they were accuſed by Chares of cowardice, and neglect of duty. Their countrymen, impatient of every diſappointment which did violence to their prejudices and exalted notions of their own power and importance, recalled theſe commanders, and brought them to a trial. Timotheus relied intirely on his integrity: but Iphicrates thought himſelf obliged to uſe ſome artifice for his preſervation. He diſperſed certain young officers through the aſſembly, who were at his devotion, armed privately with ſwords, which, as if by accident, they took occaſions to diſcover. The judges were intimidated, and, inſtead of condemning

Nep. in Timoth.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 21. Nep. in Iphic. & Timoth.

condemning to death, as was originally intended, impoſed a fine on them, which both the one and the other was utterly unable to pay. And thus theſe two commanders, of the moſt diſtinguiſhed merit and abilities, were driven diſgracefully from their country, to languiſh out their lives in an inactive exile, at a time when Athens required all their ſervices.

NOR was it leſs fatal to the intereſts of the Athenians, or leſs pleaſing or promiſing to their enemy, that Chares now became the principal commander of their fleets. He was a man poſſeſſed of all the exteriors of merit, without real and intrinſic abilities. His perſon was robuſt and vigorous; his addreſs haughty and aſſuming; his preſumption not only impoſed on his fellow-citizens, but concealed his incapacity even from himſelf. His inſatiable avarice rendered him intolerable to the allies, and dependents of Athens, whom he plundered with a cruelty and rapaciouſneſs more becoming an enemy than a protector. They dreaded his inhumanity, and deſpiſed the weakneſs of a general, who came attended by ſingers, dancers, harlots, and other like infamous attendants on luxury; and who recommended himſelf to the favour of his officers, by indulging in an abſolute contempt of all diſcipline and regularity befitting a military life. But his fellow-citizens could not diveſt themſelves of their prejudices in favour of a man, who aſſerted poſitively, and promiſed boldly; and who had his orators and popular leaders conſtantly in pay, to defend or palliate every inſtance of his miſconduct. By intrigue and cabal he had been raiſed; on theſe he depended for his ſupport; nor was inclined or inabled to execute any enterprize of honour or importance. Such was the conſequence of the indolence and the ſcandalous profuſion of the public money at Athens, that the fleet was intirely forgotten, and the commander reduced to the utmoſt difficulty for the ſupport of his ſoldiers. At leaſt ſuch was the pretence by which Chares concealed his avarice, and neglect of his commiſſion, in deſerting the war, which had been intruſted

Oliv. L. 3. p. 109.

Athenae. L. 12. p. 534.

Demoſ. Phil. 1. Sect. 9. Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 22.

to

to him, and hiring himſelf, and his forces, to Artabazus, a revolted ſatrap of Ionia, who had occaſion for immediate aſſiſtance againſt a large body of Perſians ſent to reduce him to obedience. He relieved him from his danger, and returned with magnificent preſents, and all manner of proviſions and neceſſaries for his fleet.

THE Athenians, who ſaw their navy thus provided, without any burden to themſelves, or any neceſſity of retrenching thoſe expences which were laviſhly beſtowed upon their pleaſures, liſtened willingly to thoſe who defended the conduct of Chares, and urged the neceſſities which were ſaid to have drove him to this meaſure; and, without any great difficulty, were perſuaded to approve of his expedition into Aſia. But they were ſoon made to think of this affair in a different manner. Ambaſſadors arrived with formidable remonſtrances from the king of Perſia; who declared, that, in revenge of this their outrage, he had three hundred ſhips ready to be ſent out to the aſſiſtance of the allied cities. Intimidated by theſe menaces, the Athenians inſtantly concluded a peace with the confederates, who were declared intirely independent, and exempted from all ſubſidies, and from furniſhing their contingents in the wars of Athens. Thus the terror of the Perſian power had more effect in the Athenian aſſembly, than the dictates of equity and moderation, which their ingenuous and honeſt citizen, [D] Iſocrates, had urged, with all his

Diod. Sic. ut ſupra.

[D] The diſcourſe which he addreſſed to his fellow-citizens for this purpoſe is ſtill extant. In it we find him reproaching them, with great freedom, for abandoning themſelves to the inſinuations of thoſe orators who flatter their paſſions, while they treat thoſe with contempt, who give them the moſt ſalutary counſels. He particularly applies himſelf to correct their violent paſſion for the augmentation of their power and dominion over the people of Greece, which had been the ſource of all their misfortunes. He recalls to their remembrance thoſe happy days, ſo glorious for Athens, in which their anceſtors, from a noble and generous diſintereſtedneſs, ſacrificed every thing to the ſupport of the common liberty, and the preſervation of Greece; and compares them with the preſent times, wherein the ambition of Sparta,

his candid eloquence, to perſuade them to this meaſure: and thus the ſocial war, which had continued for three years to harraſs the Athenians, and had been one cauſe of the weak and ineffectual interruption which they had given to Philip's earlier deſigns, was now concluded.

Sparta, and afterwards that of Athens, had, ſucceſſively, plunged thoſe ſtates in the greateſt misfortunes. He repreſents to them, that the real and laſting greatneſs of a ſtate, doth not conſiſt in augmenting its dominions, and extending its conqueſts, at the expence of humanity and juſtice; but in the wiſe government of the people, a juſt attention to their happineſs, and to the protection of their allies; in being beloved and eſteemed by their neighbours, and feared by their enemies.—The whole piece expreſſes a mind poſſeſſed with the warmeſt ſentiments of benevolence, and a moſt moderate and equitable regard to the common rights of mankind; together with a juſt contempt of falſe greatneſs, the fatal object of the heroes and ravagers of the world. He concludes, that Athens, if it would preſerve its happineſs and tranquillity, ought not to affect the empire of the ſea, for the ſake of lording it over all other ſtates; but ſhould conclude a peace, whereby every city and people ſhould be left to the full enjoyment of their liberty; and declare themſelves irreconcileable enemies to thoſe, who ſhould preſume to diſturb this ſyſtem.

END of the FIRST BOOK.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

LIFE AND REIGN

OF

PHILIP

KING of MACEDON.

BOOK THE SECOND.

BOOK THE SECOND.

KING OF MACEDON.

PHILIP

OF

MACEDON AND PERICLES

OF THE

HISTORY

OF

GREECE.

BOOK II. SECTION I.

CONTENTS.

THE ſacred war.—Philomelus made general of the Phocian army.—Sollicits the aſſiſtance of Sparta.—Raiſes an army of mercenaries.—Poſſeſſes himſelf of Delphi and the temple.—Is oppoſed by the Thebans and Locrians.—Hoſtilities commenced.—Philomelus endeavours to remove the odious appearance of impiety, which diſgraced his cauſe.—Sends his deputies to the ſeveral Grecian powers.—His repreſentations.—Their effects at Athens,—at Lacedaemon.—Philip attentive to theſe commotions.—Actions in the ſecond year of the war.—The death of Philomelus.—The Athenians alarmed by the motions of the king of Perſia.—They conſult about preparations for war.—Invite Philip to unite with them.—Demoſthenes appears in the Athenian aſſembly.—Character of this orator.—His oration on the Claſſes.—*Effects of the preſent agitation at Athens.—The affairs of Thrace.—Cerſobleptes cedes the Cherſoneſus to the Athenians.—The ſiege of Seſtos.—Cardia reſerved.—The effects of this reſervation.—Philip beſieges Methonè.—Loſes an eye.—Methonè taken and demoliſhed.—Philip's liberality to his ſoldiers.—Remarkable inſtance of ingratitude puniſhed by Philip.*

CONTENTS.

BOOK II. SECTION I.

THE LIFE and REIGN OF PHILIP King of MACEDON.

BOOK the SECOND.

SECTION I.

THE Athenians were now recovering from the alarm occaſioned by the menaces of the king of Perſia, and, being relieved from the burden of the late war with the confederates, were principally attentive to the motions and deſigns of Philip; when the violence of mutual jealouſy and animoſity burſt forth ſuddenly in Greece; and the ſeveral ſtates conſpired to favour the deſigns of the great enemy of their liberty, and to precipitate their own ruin, by arming againſt each other in the famous SACRED WAR. Olymp. 106. Y. 2.

THE Theban intereſt had been, for ſome time, predominant in the great Amphictyonic council: and that venerable aſſembly, formed originally to ſupport the general intereſt of the whole Hellenic body,

body, now ſhared ſo largely in the corruption and degeneracy of the time, that it was totally guided and directed by ſome one ruling power, and ſervilely ecchoed the dictates of the revenge or ambition of that ſtate, which could moſt effectually influence and corrupt its members. The authority which the Thebans acquired in this aſſembly, in conſequence of their late ſucceſſes, they ſoon determined to exert againſt thoſe whom they ſecretly or avowedly hated: and Phocis and Lacedaemon were the deſtined victims of their pride and oppreſſion. The firſt of theſe ſtates had been accuſed of occupying and cultivating ſome lands ſituated on the banks of the Cephiſus, to the eaſt of mount Parnaſſus, which the religion of antient times had conſecrated to Apollo, and, of conſequence, conſigned to perpetual deſolation. A large fine was impoſed on them by the Amphictyons, the guardians of religion and the rights of the god. At the ſame time, the Thebans, not contented with the revenge, which their arms had executed in Sparta, prevailed upon the council to take cognizance of the conduct of Phoebidas, and to condemn the Lacedaemonians in a fine of fifty talents, for their breach of public faith, and violation of the general peace of Greece, in ſeizing the citadel of Thebes. The two ſtates, affected by theſe ſentences, were by no means ready to pay the due deference to ſuch ſevere deciſions; and poſſibly the Amphictyons themſelves were not very zealous to inforce the execution of their decrees; till, again ſollicited by the Thebans, the council, at length, reſolved, that the Phocians ſhould inſtantly comply, and pay their fine, on pain of being ſtripped of all the fruits of their ſacrilege: and that the Lacedaemonians alſo ſhould, without delay, ſubmit to the authority of the general council, and make the appointed attonement for their crime; or, in caſe of a refuſal, be regarded and treated as rebellious againſt the ſovereign power of the Amphictyons, and as the enemies of Greece.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 23.

Diod. Sic. ut ſupra.

THE Phocians, who were purſued with the greateſt zeal, as the moſt odious and criminal party, were thus on the point of having all the

the advantages, which the labour and induſtry of years had with difficulty procured, at once wreſted from them; and many of themſelves and families expoſed to want and diſtreſs; driven from the lands and habitations they had long occupied, and deprived of the means of ſubſiſtence. Murmurs and complaints aroſe naturally among a people of ſpirit, to expreſs their indignation at this extreme ſeverity. Nor did they want turbulent and deſigning men, to inflame their diſcontents, and aggravate their grievances. Philomelus, one of the moſt conſiderable members of their community, was a man poſſeſſed of all the qualifications neceſſary to recommend him to the popular favour. He had that inſinuating eloquence, which at once ſeizes the attention, and engages the affections. Under the appearance of a tender regard for the welfare of his fellow-citizens, he concealed a turbulent and violent ambition, which his daring ſoul prompted him to gratify at the expence of dangers and toils, and in defiance of juſtice, and of all thoſe rights, which the general opinion and principles of mankind had ſanctified. This man now aſſembled the Phocians, and, in an artful harangue, exerted all his addreſs to lead them to his purpoſes.

He began with declaring, that, gallant and courageous as they were, he could not in the leaſt ſuſpect that they would ſubmit to the unjuſt ſentence of the Amphictyons; and, by paying the fine required, brand themſelves, and their country, with an ignominious ſtain, which no time ever could efface: but that, if their ſpirit was really loſt, if they were determined to ſubmit to the arbitrary deciſions of their enemies, ſtill the ſum demanded far exceeded their abilities. He expatiated on the injuſtice and cruelty of the Amphictyonic decree, which had impoſed a fine ſo enormous, on account of a ſmall portion of land, which their neceſſities had forced them to occupy. If they could be ſo patient as to ſuffer this land to be taken from them, and united to the antient patrimony of the god, beſides the diſgrace of a ſubmiſſion ſo abject and daſtardly, the loſs of

Diod. Sic. ut ſupra.

of their liberty, the utter deſtruction of their properties, and their lives, he declared muſt prove the inevitable conſequence. All the fatal effects of the cruelty of their enemies he knew how to repreſent in the moſt lively colours, and to inflame the imaginations of his hearers with affecting pictures of the future diſtreſs of his dear fellow-citizens. One way yet remained to obviate all theſe melancholy conſequences. If they would intruſt him with the command of their army; if they would reſign themſelves abſolutely to his direction, he made no doubt of proving ſufficient to extricate them from the preſent difficulties, and to aſſert their antient dignity and privileges. To them, and to them alone, had been intruſted the temple and the oracle of Delphi in antient times; their anceſtors were acknowledged as abſolute proprietors of the whole city, and all its territories. Hear, ſaid he, the teſtimony of Homer, the venerable and authentic recorder of the antient glory of Greece, and of all the rights of its ſeveral inhabitants:

[A] The PHOCIANS next in forty barks repair;
Epiſtrophus and Schedius head the war;
From thoſe rich regions, where Cephiſus leads,
Her ſilver current thro' the flow'ry meads:
From Panopëa, Chryſa the divine,
Where Anemoria's ſtately turrets ſhine;
Where *PYTHO, Daulis, Cypariſſus ſtood.— POPE.

* The antient name of Delphi.

Let us then boldly draw the ſword, and aſſert the honours of our fathers, and the rights of their poſterity.

THESE artful repreſentations had the deſired effect: the Phocians created Philomelus their general, with full powers to conduct them as he thought proper: and he proceeded to concert the neceſſary

[A] Αυ̃λαρ ΦΩΚΕΩΝ Σχεδιος και 'Επισροφος ἦρχον——
'Οι Κυπαρισσον ἐχον ΠΥΘΩΝΑ τε πετρηεσσαν. &c. ILIAD. B. l. 516.

means

means of anſwering the expectations of his countrymen. He began with making a journey to Sparta, where he had a private conference with king Archidamus. He repreſented to this prince, that the intereſt of Sparta was no leſs concerned than that of Phocis, in reſcinding the late decrees of the Amphictyons. He diſcovered his ſcheme of ſeizing Delphi, with aſſurances, that his firſt care ſhould be to efface all the memorials of the diſgrace of their two ſtates; and deſired the aſſiſtance of the Spartans, in a cauſe, in which they, and the Phocians, were equally concerned. Archidamus was pleaſed with a deſign formed againſt the enemies of Sparta, and ſenſible of the advantages which that ſtate might derive from its ſucceſs; yet, being duly affected by the odiouſneſs and danger of it, and too cautious to commence, or to join in this hazardous war, till the effects of the firſt bold experiment had appeared, and the other leading ſtates had diſcovered their diſpoſitions, declared to Philomelus, that he fully approved of his plan; and that, although it was not at preſent convenient openly to avow his attachment to the Phocians, yet that he might depend on ſome private reinforcements, beſides ſupplies of money. To evince the ſincerity of theſe declarations, he accompanied them with a preſent of fifteen talents, to which Philomelus added the ſame ſum of his own; and thus was inabled to raiſe a large body of mercenary troops, who were encouraged to crowd to his ſtandard by the liberality with which he paid them.

Diod. Sic. ut ſupra.

THE army he had thus collected he proceeded to model; and, in imitation of other great generals and maſters of the art of war, incorporated a thouſand choſen Phocians into one diſtinct body, whom he called Πελταϛαι, his targeteers; and, having thus provided for the execution of his deſigns, he appeared at the head of his forces, and directed his march to Delphi. Certain inhabitants of the neighbouring diſtrict, called Thracidae, attempted, in vain, to oppoſe his entrance into the city. They were defeated, and cut to pieces, and their poſſeſſions given up to the will of a rapacious ſoldiery.

Diod. L. 16. Sect. 24.

The Delphians trembled in expectation of the like fate; but Philomelus quieted their apprehenſions, by aſſuring them, that he entertained no hoſtile intentions againſt their city; no ſacrilegious deſigns againſt their temple: he came but to aſſert the juſt rights of his country to the guardianſhip thereof, and ſhould ever preſerve a due reverence to the god, and an exact attention to the welfare of his votaries. And thus this enterpriſing chief gained poſſeſſion of the city, and aſſumed the cuſtody of the temple, with all its immenſe riches. [B]

THE Amphictyons, on their part, could not behold this outrageous oppoſition to their authority, which they affected to conſider as a violence to all rights divine and human, without the utmoſt emotion. By a formal decree, they pronounced theſe profane Phocians enemies to heaven and to Greece; and invited all thoſe who acknowledged their ſovereign authority, and who retained a regard for religion, to draw the ſword againſt ſacrilege, and ſo to diſcharge thoſe ſacred obligations, which they owed to their country, and to heaven.

[B] THE marbles of Paros fix the commencement of the Phocian war to the archonſhip of Cephiſodotus, the third year of the hundred and fifth Olympiad: which was probably the date of the decree of the Amphictyons, which produced it. We know, beſides, from AEſchines, Demoſthenes, and Pauſanias, that it laſted ten years. The laſt mentioned author places the invaſion of the temple under the archonſhip of Agathocles, the fourth year of the hundred and fifth Olympiad. Thus then we may reconcile thoſe different authorities with Diodorus.

The decree of the Amphictyons, under Cephiſodotus.
The ſpeech of Philomelus, and the inſurrection of the Phocians, under Agathocles.
The journey of Philomelus to Sparta, in the archonſhip of Elphines. Olymp. 106. Y. 1.
The ſeizing of Delphi, under Calliſtratus. Olymp. 106. Y. 2.

OLIVIER.

THE

THE Locrians, who inhabited the neighbourhood of Delphi, were the firſt to expreſs their zeal, by riſing ſuddenly in arms to attack Philomelus. But this chief found no difficulty in defeating a tumultuary body, that fought with more valour than diſcipline. Encouraged by this victory, which ſeemed a preſage of future ſucceſs, he returned in triumph into the city; tore down the records of the Amphictyonic decree from the pillars to which they were affixed; deſtroyed the brazen tablets on which the ſentences againſt Sparta and Phocis were inſcribed; and diſperſed his declaration through Greece, that he had poſſeſſed himſelf of the temple, not with a deſign of violating the rights of Apollo, but only to reſcind the unjuſt and oppreſſive decrees of the Amphictyons; and to aſſert the antient prerogative of the Phocians, which his countrymen juſtly conſidered as the moſt valuable inheritance their anceſtors had tranſmitted to them.

Diod. Sic. ut ſupra.

THE Boeotians, with the Thebans at their head, influenced by private animoſity, as * Pauſanias expreſſly obſerves, much more than by the nobler motive of religion, ſoon imitated the example of the Locrians, and raiſed conſiderable levies for the relief of the temple, and to avenge the majeſty of the offended deity. Philomelus, informed of theſe motions, ſurrounds the temple with a ſtrong fortification, ſo as to render it a kind of citadel to the town; collects new forces from all the adjacent diſtricts; augments the pay of his mercenary troops; incamps before Delphi with five thouſand choſen men; and thus becomes no leſs formidable to Thebes, than Thebes could poſſibly appear to Phocis. His enemies had not yet appeared; he therefore determined to intimidate them by an inſtance of vigour; and, having left a ſufficient body to guard the avenues to the city, marched down againſt the Locrians, and ravaged their territories. This people were ſoon obliged to arm in defence of their lands, and found the Phocian general beſieging a fortreſs on the banks of one of their rivers. The ſtrength of its ſituation had checked the progreſs

* in Phoc.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 25.

of his arms; and he now found himſelf obliged to abandon the ſiege, and to march againſt his aſſailants. An engagement immediately enſued, in which twenty of the Phocians fell. The conteſt for their bodies, according to the cuſtom of the antient Greeks, was violent and obſtinate: but the Locrians at length prevailed, and obliged Philomelus to ſend an herald to demand them. The enemy anſwered, with ſeverity, that, by the laws of Greece, ſacrilegious perſons were denied the rights of interment. Philomelus, provoked at their refuſal, and ſtill more irritated and alarmed at the harſh reaſon on which they founded it, once more led out his forces, renewed the engagement, and, remaining maſter of the field of battle, obliged the Locrians to exchange the dead. Thus, with a large acceſſion both of wealth and reputation, he returned to Delphi.

He knew of what conſequence it muſt neceſſarily be to remove the odious appearance of impiety by which his cauſe was diſgraced; and therefore determined, if poſſible, to obtain ſome oracle, which he might interpret as a ſanction to his attempts. For this purpoſe he applied to the Pythian prieſteſs; and commanded her inſtantly to aſcend her ſacred tripod, and to declare the will of the god, and the event of the preſent war. The prieſteſs, either dreading her danger, or from a regard to the ceremonials of her religion, repreſented to him, that the god could not be conſulted but [c] at certain ſtated times, and after all the preparatory rights and ſacrifices regularly and exactly performed. Philomelus, influenced only by political

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 27.

[c] It may not be diſpleaſing to the reader, to have ſome account of thoſe times and preparatory rites laid before him. For which purpoſe I take the liberty of making uſe of the accurate and copious collection from antient authors, by monſieur Hardouin, in his diſſertation on the oracle of Delphi, publiſhed in the memoirs of the academy of Belles Lettres. Tom. 3.

In the earlier times of the oracle, the Pythian prieſteſs was inſpired but once in a year, in the month which the inhabitants of Delphi called Βυσιον, which was the firſt month in the ſpring, called Βυσιον for Πυσιον formed from the word πυθανεσθαι, to *inquire* or *interrogate*. Afterwards, Apollo was prevailed on to inſpire the prieſteſs once

political regards, inſiſted on his demand, and declared his reſolution of forcing her to do her office. The prieſteſs cried out, in indignation at his violence, that he commanded there, and might act as he pleaſed. This anſwer he pretended to regard as the effect of enthuſiaſm, and the genuine dictates of Apollo. It was inſtantly publiſhed through his army; it was ingraved on a brazen tablet, and expoſed to public view, that all men might know that the god had granted him permiſſion to act as he thought proper; and, having convened his people, he declared and interpreted this pretended oracle, and earneſtly recommended to them to adhere firmly to a cauſe, which Apollo himſelf had ſanctified by his approbation.

To the affairs of war, he again began to apply with due vigour; but, at the ſame time, took care to provide his people with a prodigy, in Ibid.

once in every month. But the preciſe day was by no means an article of an indifferent nature. Some days were ſtiled ἀποφραδες, nefaſti, *unlucky days*, on which it was abſolutely forbidden to conſult the oracle. We do not know, preciſely, whether the day of conſultation in every month was fixed and determined, or whether the prieſts had the liberty of chuſing it. We only know, that the Pythian prieſteſs never mounted her tripod but on one day in the month, and that the other days were employed in preparing every thing neceſſary for this ceremony. Sacrifices made a principal part of this preparation: without the due performance of theſe, the god was deaf, and the prieſteſs mute. The utmoſt care was taken, that the victims ſhould be found, pure, without ſpot or blemiſh. When they received the effuſions of wine, or water, they were to tremble, and feel an univerſal palpitation in all parts of their body, without which propitious ſigns, the prieſteſs could not preſume to do her office. She herſelf was alſo obliged to a particular preparation. She began with an abſtinence of three days, which greatly increaſed the diſorder of her mind. On the day of conſultation, ſhe bathed in the fountain of Caſtalia, and drank a certain quantity of its water, to which Apollo had communicated a portion of his enthuſiaſtic virtue. She then chewed ſome leaves of laurel that grew near this fountain. This laurel was the ſymbol of divination; and no ſmall aſſiſtance to enthuſiaſm. The prieſteſs being thus prepared, Apollo did not fail to give notice of his approach. A laurel, which grew before the portal of the temple, by its motion, announced the god. The temple itſelf was ſhaken; at leaſt, the prieſteſs felt the preſence of the deity: and then her attendants conducted her, with all due ſolemnity, to the ſanctuary, and placed her on the ſacred tripod.

in order to animate them ſtill farther. An eagle was ſeen to hover round the temple, then to enter in, and to purſue ſome doves that were bred there, with ſuch violence, that ſome of them he killed at the altar. Diviners were found to pronounce this to be an omen, which promiſed the ſovereign power of Delphi to Philomelus and his Phocians. The event was capable of a different application; yet the preſent interpretation, purchaſed no doubt by corruption and intrigue, was eagerly received, and induſtriouſly propagated, to ſerve the preſent purpoſes of the Phocian general; who, while he thus wrought on the ignorance and ſuperſtition of his followers, was, at the ſame time, attentive to the more important means of aſſuring his ſucceſs. He choſe out thoſe of his followers, who ſeemed beſt qualified for negotiation, ſome of whom he diſpatched to Athens, others to Lacedaemon, and others even to Thebes. In like manner he applied to the other conſiderable ſtates of Greece; and gave them all the moſt ſolemn aſſurances of the rectitude of his intentions. He repeated his declarations, that the ſole motive of poſſeſſing himſelf of Delphi was to aſſert the right of Phocis to the patronage of the temple; that he abhorred the thought of ſacrilege, and was determined to preſerve the treaſures of Apollo inviolably; that he was ready to render an account to Greece of all the gold and ſilver, all the rich and magnificent offerings, their weight, number, and condition, with an exactneſs which ſhould demonſtrate the juſtice of his cauſe, and the ſincerity of his intentions; and concluded with intreating, that they ſhould diveſt themſelves of thoſe unwarrantable prejudices conceived againſt him; acknowledge the juſtice of his procedure, and unite their arms with Phocis; or, at leaſt, continue neuter in a war, by which the public intereſts of Greece, either civil, or religious, were by no means affected.

THE chief attention of the Athenians was at preſent to the actions and deſigns of Philip, who was now engaged in Thrace, where he was ever labouring to gain ſome new acquiſitions, either by force or intrigue.

intrigue. Their arms were wholly employed in ſome indirect and weak efforts to oppoſe or harraſs him; and were no longer profeſſedly engaged in any important quarrel. They remembered, with gratitude, that Phocis had expreſſed a regard for Athens in its ſtate of depreſſion at the concluſion of the Peloponneſian war; they looked with indignation at the arrogance with which their late ſucceſſes had inſpired the Thebans; they harboured a warm reſentment of every inſtance of oppoſition or enmity that had appeared in Thebes through the courſe of the Grecian conteſts; they hated and determined to oppoſe any people who preſumed to appear as their competitors for ſovereign power; and, in ſuch diſpoſitions, received the ambaſſadors of Philomelus with the utmoſt favour; and, by a formal decree, entered into a ſtrict mutual engagement and alliance, offenſive and defenſive, with the Phocians, whom they affected to conſider as men drove to extremities by the tyranny and oppreſſion of their enemies.

Demoſthenes de falſa Leg. Sect. 22. cum Schol.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 26.

THE Lacedaemonians alſo had particular reaſons for liſtening to the overtures, and eſpouſing the cauſe, of Philomelus. The Amphictyons, as hath been already obſerved, had condemned them in a fine of five hundred talents to be paid to Thebes. As this ſum was not paid at the appointed time, the penalty was doubled by a ſubſequent decree of the great council, and no leſs than one thouſand talents was impoſed on the Lacedaemonians: a ſum, which, exorbitant as it was, they muſt neceſſarily pay, or be expoſed to all the rigour of the general laws of Greece. To recur to the ſame pretence which the Phocians had uſed, and to cry out loudly againſt the injuſtice of the decree, ſeemed the only means of eluding the blow. But remonſtrances, however violently urged, could have no effect, unleſs ſeconded by arms, and ſupported by an appearance of warlike power. And then, to take up arms in the character of men condemned by the council of Greece, would be to expoſe themſelves to all the weight of popular odium and indignation. If, on the contrary, they appeared only as aſſiſtants to the Phocians, they might obtain their grand point in a manner apparently more honourable.

Ibid.

All

All the odiouſneſs of rebellion would fall on thoſe who had been the firſt to take up arms; while the Lacedaemonians would be ſuppoſed to act only from pity to their friends, who were drove to the very brink of ruin.

* Lib. 16. Sect. 26.

THESE are the motives to which * Diodorus aſcribes the preſent conduct of Lacedaemon. And, from the character of Archidamus, a ſubtle, penetrating, and deſigning prince, ſtrictly attentive to every event from which he might derive advantage to his country, and indefatigable in projecting the means of recovering its antient ſplendor, we may probably conclude, that, in engaging to aſſiſt the Phocians, he was influenced by another particular view of intereſt. The Lacedaemonians, as there will be hereafter occaſion to obſerve, had themſelves an antient claim to the poſſeſſion and patronage of the Delphian temple; he therefore readily favoured an attempt to wreſt it from the late poſſeſſors. The Phocians, by diſputing their right, deprived it of the reverence paid to a long undiſturbed poſſeſſion; and when they were ſo far weakened, as to be no longer able to ſupport their pretenſions, he might then, with more eaſe, and leſs odium, aſſert thoſe of his own country.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 27, 29.

OTHER ſtates of leſs moment were alſo found, who, from their connexions, paſſions, or intereſts, favoured the cauſe of Phocis. But, at Thebes the ambaſſadors of Philomelus were received with indignation; and warned to expect nothing but hoſtilities and juſt reſentment. The Thebans freely declared, that they were arming againſt the Phocians to avenge the majeſty of the deity, whom they had offended by their ſacrilegious enterprize. The Locrians, Theſſalians, Perrhibaeans, Dorians, Dolopians, Athamantians, Achaeans, Phthiotes, Magnetes, AEnians, and ſome others, influenced either by their attachments to Boeotia, their antient animoſities to Phocis, or the popular motives of religion, and veneration to the temple, all united againſt Philomelus and his adherents. And thus this quarrel,

at

at firſt ſeemingly inconſiderable, became gradually to appear important and alarming: and divided all Greece with the greater animoſity, as their paſſions and intereſts had the ſpecious ſhew of religion to diſguiſe them, and to ſanctify their moſt bloody conſequences.

It doth not appear, that Philip was as yet invited, by either party, to ſhare in this diſpute: but a prince of his conſummate policy could not have regarded it with indifference: and, although he had no proſpect of immediate advantage from it, yet, by his conduct, he ſeems to have duly weighed its remote conſequences, and, from the beginning of this fatal conteſt, to have juſtly conſidered it as the foundation of his future greatneſs. He looked on with ſecret ſatisfaction, while theſe people ruſhed to war with an inconſiderate fury, which rendered them blind to their real danger; and waited till they ſhould exhauſt and weaken each other, ſo as to inable him to attack them all with greater advantage.

The firſt year of the ſacred war had now elapſed, (for it muſt be thought an eſſential part of the preſent hiſtory to trace the progreſs of this important conteſt) when Philomelus began to find himſelf engaged in a truly dangerous and momentous enterprize. He perceived the dreadful ſtorm which was preparing to burſt upon him from different quarters, and ſaw the neceſſity of guarding effectually againſt it. He drew together a large body of new mercenaries, to which he added a number of ſuch Phocians as were capable of ſervice, but as yet had not been incorporated in his army; and as it was abſolutely neceſſary to procure a large ſum of money for the ſupport of theſe forces, and as policy forbad him to commit any outrage on the riches of the temple, he conceived a leſs odious method of raiſing the neceſſary ſupplies; which was to tax all the inhabitants of Delphi, who had been inriched by the devotion of Greece, and by the continual reſort of various nations to the celebrated oracle. By

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 28.

theſe means, he was inabled to take the field with a formidable power, and to preſent himſelf in readineſs to oppoſe all the enemies of Phocis. The Locrians, who were ſtill the firſt to expreſs their zeal againſt him, now again met him in arms, and came to an engagement near to thoſe rocky precipices, called by the Grecians, Phaedriades. The battle was fought, on each ſide, with ſufficient valour; but, in ſpite of their braveſt efforts, the Locrians were defeated, purſued with conſiderable ſlaughter, many of them made priſoners, and many drove down headlong from the rocks. The event of this engagement ſerved to inflame the ſpirit of the Phocians, but threw the Locrians into the deepeſt conſternation. They inſtantly diſpatched their deputies to Thebes, to repreſent their deplorable condition, and to urge that ſtate to haſten to their aſſiſtance, and that of the god.

And now the Phocians were threatened with the immediate appearance of the Thebans, and of the other ſtates, which paid deference to the decrees of the Amphictyonic body. Philomelus could not yet think himſelf ſufficiently armed againſt ſo formidable an aſſociation, and therefore determined to reinforce his army with ſtill greater numbers. To this it was previouſly neceſſary to find new ſupplies of money. As all his former reſources were exhauſted, as neither Athens nor Lacedaemon had as yet ſent him the ſtipulated ſuccours, he was at laſt obliged, however invidious and unpopular it might appear, to lay his ſacrilegious hands on the treaſures and rich offerings of the temple; and, having taken as much from this large fund as he judged neceſſary, he was inabled to augment the pay of his mercenaries by one half of the former ſum. By theſe means, he inſtantly found himſelf ſurrounded by great numbers from all parts of Greece, of deſperate fortunes and abandoned characters; immoral and profligate contemners of the national religion, and influenced only by the hopes of ſharing a rich ſpoil. They were all ſupplied and gratified; and thus Philomelus was inabled to march into

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 30.

into the Locrian territory, at the head of above ten thouſand horſe and foot; a large army for a Phocian general, and much beyond what might have been expected in his circumſtances. The Locrians, now reinforced by ſome of the Boeotians, came out to meet him. The cavalry on each ſide engaged, and the Phocians were victorious. The Theſſalians, with the auxiliary forces, which their neighbouring ſtates had raiſed, having made up a body of ſix thouſand men, next march down into Locris, and meet the enemy at the foot of an hill called Argolas: but here the Phocians are once more victorious. A formidable body of thirteen thouſand Boeotians now arrive, and join the confederates; while Philomelus is reinforced by fifteen hundred Achaeans ſent from Peloponneſus. This chief, though now conſiderably inferior in numbers, yet diſdained the thoughts of a retreat. Both armies were collected on the ſame plain, and incamped in view of each other.

Sect. 31. FREQUENT excurſions were neceſſarily made from each army, on account of foraging; and, on one of theſe occaſions, it happened, that a number of mercenary forces, in the ſervice of Philomelus, had the misfortune to be ſurrounded, and taken priſoners, by a ſuperior body of Boeotians. Theſe wretches were brought in triumph to the camp; proclamation was made with all ſolemnity, by an herald, that, by the ſentence of the great council of Amphictyons, theſe men were condemned to die, for having ſerved in the army of ſacrilegious violaters of the rights of Apollo; and this ſentence was inſtantly executed without mercy. The ſoldiers, in the pay of Phocis, were fired with fury and indignation at the cruel and diſgraceful fate of their comrades: they ſeized the firſt opportunity of ſurprizing a party of the enemy: they led them to their general's tent: they called loudly for revenge: nor could Philomelus oppoſe their urgent remonſtrances: the priſoners were delivered up to their fury, and put to death with every circumſtance of cruelty that had been practiſed in the enemy's camp.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 31.

AT length both armies decamped at once, and began to march the ſame way, which the conveniency of forage ſeems to have pointed out. After ſome motions, in a cloſe and woody country, which concealed the approach of each from the other, until they were juſt in view, their vanguards firſt met unexpectedly, and began to ſkirmiſh. The action ſoon became general and violent; and the Phocians, after ſome reſiſtance, were forced to yield to ſuperior numbers. The country, in which they fought, filled with rocks, and precipices, and pathleſs woods, impeded their retreat, and expoſed them to all the fury of the victorious enemy, who made great ſlaughter both of the Phocians and the mercenaries. Philomelus exerted all his valour and abilities to correct this diſorder, but without effect. Unable to ſtop the flight of his ſoldiers, covered over with wounds, pierced with anguiſh and deſpair, he, at length, yielded to the torrent, and ſoon found himſelf puſhed to the brow of a frightful precipice, which cut off all farther flight. The enemy were preſſing cloſe upon him; he knew the treatment he was to expect, were he to fall alive into their hands; his deſperate reſolution was, in the ſame moment, formed and executed; and, from the precipice on which he ſtood, he boldly leaped down, and paid the puniſhment due to his turbulent ambition. The command of the army, by this means, devolved to Onomarchus, his brother and colleague, who, with great difficulty, collected, by degrees, the ſcattered remains of the defeated army, and retired to Phocis. The Thebans, and other confederates, having cloſed the campaign ſo fortunately, returned to their own

Sect. 32.

territories, expatiating on the fate of Philomelus, as the manifeſt indication of divine wrath; and being, by this ſucceſs, confirmed in their reſolutions to purſue the enemies of heaven and of Greece, they declared their firm purpoſe of aſſerting this righteous cauſe, and of puniſhing all thoſe ſacrilegious wretches, who might be taken in the courſe of the war, in the ſame manner as their chief had ſuffered, the manner which Apollo himſelf, by this execution of his vengeance, ſeemed to point out to them.

THE

THE Athenians, as we have already ſeen, were engaged by a formal treaty to ſend aſſiſtance to theſe unhappy Phocians. But their indolence had as yet prevented them from performing their engagement, and they had now the mortification to find their acknowledged friends and allies defeated, and almoſt totally deſtroyed, by means of their deſertion. While they thus neglected a conteſt, which raged in the heart of Greece, and now began to threaten moſt important conſequences, their vanity prompted them to extend their views to Aſia, and to affect an attention to the motions and deſigns of the great king. The thoughts of their antient glory were too flattering ever to ſubſide, even amidſt all their corruptions; the antient cauſes of enmity, between them and Perſia, were ſtill remembered, and, on many occaſions, oſtentatiouſly recounted. The late conduct of their general Chares, in aſſiſting a rebellious noble, had raiſed a juſt and warm reſentment at the Perſian court; and their notions of their own importance made them readier to ſuſpect, that the vaſt armaments, which were now preparing by Artaxerxes Ochus, threatened them, and that ſome important blow was meditated againſt their dominions. The orators of Athens ſeemed ſtudious to flatter the weakneſs and vanity of the people on this occaſion, and exerted all their eloquence to engage them in a vigorous oppoſition to the antient enemy of Greece. All the actions of their great anceſtors were recalled to their remembrance; the names of Miltiades, Themiſtocles, Cimon, and the other illuſtrious enemies of Perſia, reſounded through the aſſembly; all the force and artifice of language was employed to adorn their actions; and their poſterity were pathetically invited to imitate theſe renowned patterns of virtue, and to riſe up in arms againſt the Barbarian. It is not impoſſible but that the agents and partizans of the king of Macedon might have regarded this as a favourable occaſion to advance their maſter's intereſt; and that by joining violently in the outcry againſt the Perſian, by fomenting the ſuſpicions of his deſigns, and by flattering the national pride of the Athenians, they

Demoſth. Orat. de Claſſ.

they endeavoured to divert their attention from the actions of Philip, whom they ſeem to have repreſented as a powerful prince, ready to lay aſide all private animoſities, and to unite with them againſt the common enemy. The artifice of theſe ſecret friends of Macedon, or their own terrors, ſo far wrought upon the Athenians, that they reſolved to ſend a deputation to all the Greeks to invite them to ſuſpend their private quarrels, and to unite againſt the deſigns of Perſia; and they themſelves ſo far forgot all private animoſities; and poſſibly were ſo far influenced by the artifice of corrupted hirelings, that they reſolved, on this occaſion, to acknowledge Macedon as a member of the Hellenic body, and to invite Philip to join in the general confederacy. Olivier * thinks it probable, that Iſocrates was the perſon who anſwered for the conduct of Philip, and induced his countrymen to this reſolution. This old, recluſe, and virtuous rhetorician was eaſily flattered by the attention which Philip paid to him, as well as other men of learning; and, convinced, himſelf, of the ſincerity of his declarations, might naturally have laboured to convince his fellow-citizens, and to remove their prejudices, by ecchoing thoſe plauſible pretences with which Philip diſguiſed all his hoſtilities, and which might have had their full effect upon an honeſt mind, unacquainted with the artifices of public life. Add to this, that Philoſtratus tells us (as the French writer obſerves) that at one time Iſocrates reconciled Philip to the Athenians; which could not poſſibly have happened but in the preſent conjuncture: as in the grand treaty, executed by the ten orators, Iſocrates had no ſhare: and the peace which ſucceeded the battle of Chaeronea was not made till after his death. However this may be, no overtures could poſſibly be made to Philip more agreeable to his policy and ambition, nor more likely to engage his whole attention; and poſſibly the ſecret practices of this prince, or the vanity of Athens, might have had more material conſequences in this conjuncture, had not Demoſthenes now appeared, for the firſt time, in a debate about the public

Liter. Philip.

* Lib. 4. p. 175.

public intereſt, and exerted his addreſs and energy to moderate the exceſſive and ill-directed zeal of the Athenians.

THIS illuſtrious orator and ſtateſman, whom we ſhall hereafter find acting ſo conſiderable a part in the courſe of this hiſtory, was born in the laſt year of the ninety-ninth Olympiad, according to Dionyſius, who, in his epiſtle to Ammaeus, hath accurately diſtinguiſhed the different periods of his life, and the times in which his ſeveral orations were delivered. He was the ſon, not of a mean and obſcure mechanic, as the Roman ſatyriſt hath repreſented him, but of an eminent Athenian citizen, who raiſed a conſiderable fortune by the manufacture of arms. At the age of ſeven years he loſt his father; and, to add to this misfortune, the guardians to whom he was intruſted, waſted and embezzled a conſiderable part of his inheritance. Thus oppreſſed by fraud, and diſcouraged by a weak and effeminate habit of body, he yet diſcovered an early ambition to diſtinguiſh himſelf as a popular ſpeaker. The applauſe beſtowed on a public orator, who had defended his country's right to the city of Oropus, in an elaborate harangue, inflamed his youthful mind with an eager deſire of meriting the like honour. Iſocrates and Iſaeus were then the two moſt eminent profeſſors of eloquence at Athens. The ſoft and florid manner of the former did by no means ſuit the genius of Demoſthenes. Iſaeus was more vigorous and energic, and his ſtyle better ſuited to public buſineſs. To him, therefore, he applied; and, under his direction, purſued thoſe ſtudies, which might accompliſh him for the character to which he aſpired. His firſt eſſay was made againſt his guardian, by whom he had been ſo injuriouſly treated. But the goodneſs of his cauſe was here of more ſervice than the abilities of the young orator; for his early attempts were unpromiſing, and ſoon convinced him of the neceſſity of a graceful and manly pronunciation. His cloſe and ſevere application, and the extraordinary diligence with which he laboured to conquer his defects and natural infirmities, are too well known, and have been too frequently

Juvenal. Satyr. 10.

Plut. in Demoſth.

frequently the ſubject of hiſtorians and critics, antient and modern, to need a particular recital. His character, as a ſtateſman, will be beſt collected from the following hiſtory; as an orator, the reader, perhaps, is not to be informed of his qualifications. I take the liberty, however, of tranſcribing a brief account from a former work:

Preface to the Tranſlation of Demoſthenes's Philippic Orations.

" ENERGY and majeſty were his peculiar excellencies. " From the gravity of Thucydides, the pomp and dignity of Plato, " the eaſe and elegance, the neatneſs and ſimplicity of the Attic " writers, he formed a ſtile and manner admirably fitted to his " own temper and genius, as well as that of his hearers. His " own ſeverity determined him to the more forcible methods of " aſtoniſhing and terrifying, rather than to the gentle and inſinu- " ating arts of perſuaſion; nor did the circumſtances and diſpo- " ſitions of his country-men admit of any but violent impreſſions. " As many of thoſe to whom he addreſſed himſelf were men of " low rank and occupations, his images and expreſſions are ſome- " times familiar. As others of them were themſelves eminent in " ſpeaking, and could readily ſee through all the common artifices " of oratory, theſe he affects to deſpiſe; appears only ſollicitous to " be underſtood; yet, as it were, without deſign, raiſes the utmoſt " admiration and delight: ſuch delight as ariſes from the clearneſs " of evidence, and the fulneſs of conviction. And, as all, even " the lower part of his hearers, were acquainted with the beauties " of poetry, and the force of harmony, he could not admit of " any thing rude or negligent; but, with the ſtricteſt attention, la- " boured thoſe compoſitions, which appear ſo natural and unadorned; " they have their ornaments; but theſe are auſtere and manly, and " ſuch as are conſiſtent with freedom and ſincerity. A full and " regular ſeries of diffuſive reaſoning would have been intolerable in " an Athenian aſſembly. He even contents himſelf with an imper- " fect hint: a ſentence, a word, even his ſilence is ſometimes preg-

nant

" nant with meaning. And this quickneſs and vehemence flattered
" a people, who valued themſelves upon their acuteneſs and penetra-
" tion. The impetuous torrent, that in a moment bears down all
" before it; the repeated flaſhes of lightning, which ſpread univerſal
" terror, and which the ſtrongeſt eye dares not encounter; are the
" images by which the nature of his eloquence hath been expreſſed."

He was now twenty-eight years old, when the Athenians aſſembled to conſider of the meaſures to be taken in conſequence of this alarm from Perſia, and particularly of the manner of raiſing an armament proper to defend them againſt the ſuppoſed danger, and of the funds required for preparing and maintaining it. Luccefini, in his notes on the oration which Demoſthenes now delivered, propoſes a difficulty, that, by the eſtabliſhed laws of Solon, no man was allowed to ſpeak in public, who had not attained the age of thirty; which law, as it appears from the oration of AEſchines againſt Timarchus, was ſtill in force: but this law, as the ſame learned commentator hath abundantly proved, only regarded thoſe ten public orators who were annually choſen and paid to ſpeak in the affairs of ſtate: who, as they were frequently to addreſs the ſenate, muſt neceſſarily be of the ſenatorial age. All the other citizens were freely allowed to declare their ſentiments in the aſſembly, and to propoſe any thing which they deemed of advantage to the ſtate; with a due deference, however, to ſeniority; though the law, which gave to the elders a prior right of ſpeaking, was now abrogated, according to another interpreter of this great Athenian orator. Tourreil. Not. in Phil. 1.

This privilege, therefore, Demoſthenes now aſſumed, but not before he had heard the full ſpirit of national vanity break forth in the aſſembly, in magnificent harangues on the antient glory of Athens, and the neceſſity of curbing the pride of the Barbarian, and of calling upon the Greeks to unite againſt their common enemy. He ſeems to have formed juſter notions of the preſent ſtate of his Olymp. 106. Y. 3.

country, of its connexions, intereſts, and corruptions. As yet, however, it became his age to ſpeak with due caution, and to curb that ſeverity with which he after combated the errors of his countrymen; he begins with tempering their heat and extravagant zeal, without abſolutely ſhocking their prejudices.

Oratio de Claſſ. init.

" THE men, who thus dwell upon the praiſes of our anceſtors, " ſeem to me, ye men of Athens, to have choſen a ſubject fitted " rather to pleaſe and gratify the aſſembly, than to do the due " honours to thoſe men on whom they laviſh their applauſe. As " they attempt to ſpeak of actions which no words can worthily " deſcribe, the illuſtrious ſubject adorns their ſpeech, and gives them " the praiſe of eloquence; while their hearers are made to think " of the virtues of theſe heroes with much leſs elevation than theſe " virtues of themſelves inſpire. To me time itſelf ſeems to be the " nobleſt witneſs to their glory. A ſeries of ſo many years hath " now paſſed over: and yet no men have yet appeared, whoſe " actions could ſurpaſs thoſe conſummate patterns of perfection. It " ſhall be my part, therefore, ſolely to endeavour to point out the " means which may inable you moſt effectually to prepare for war. " For, in fact, were all our ſpeakers to proceed in a pompous diſ- " play of their abilities, ſuch parade and oſtentation could not " poſſibly be of the leaſt advantage to the public. But if any man " whatever will appear, and can explain, to your full ſatisfaction, " what kind of armament, how great, and how ſupported, may " ſerve the preſent exigencies of the ſtate, then all thoſe alarms " muſt inſtantly be diſpelled."

FROM the circumſtances of Greece, the conteſts which now reigned, the diſpoſition of the principal ſtates, the dangers which were nearer, more certain, and more alarming than thoſe which were apprehended from Perſia, he proceeds gradually to inſpire them with ſentiments of greater moderation, to recall them from all

romantic

romantic purſuits, and to confine them to defenſive meaſures, to the care and attention due to their military preparations, that ſo they might appear amply provided againſt any attack whatever. The method he propoſes for raiſing their armament, diſcovers an extraordinary attention to the conſtitution of his country, and ſhews that it was not only by forming his voice, his ſtile, and his pronunciation, that Demoſthenes prepared himſelf for public buſineſs. His ſcheme, if particularly diſcuſſed, might lead us too far away from the principal ſubject. It ſeems equitably and happily conceived, calculated for expedition, and to obviate all difficulties and murmurings. Though poſſibly the great deſign of the orator was not ſo much to point out the means of guarding againſt the ſuppoſed danger, as to divert his countrymen, by a delicate addreſs and artifice, from any affair, which had no other foundation than in the over-heated imaginations of ſome orators, who were poſſibly intereſted in fomenting and increaſing the preſent emotions of the aſſembly.

IT was one great corruption in the ſtate of Athens, that the richer members of the community employed all their influence (in the general decay of public ſpirit) to ſhift off from themſelves all the burdenſome and expenſive duties of an Athenian citizen. It was their province to equip and to maintain the ſhips of war: and, by the diſpoſition which prevailed at preſent, the richeſt citizen was only obliged to contribute a ſixteenth part to the fitting out of one veſſel. So that the poor alone felt the public burdens, and many irregularities and deficiencies were found in their marine. In the place of this, Demoſthenes propoſed a new regulation, whereby every citizen, poſſeſſed of ten talents, was obliged, at his own ſole expence, to equip one ſhip of war: they who poſſeſſed leſs, were to unite their fortunes, ſo as to make up this ſum, and to contribute in proportion to their wealth; and they, whoſe fortunes exceeded ten talents, were alſo obliged to contribute an additional ſum, rated according to their abilities; and, if poſſeſſed of twenty, were to fit

Demoſth. de Corona Sect. 30.

out two; if of thirty, three ſhips; which number, together with one tender, was the greateſt that any citizen was obliged to provide by the new regulation. This propoſal, equitable as it was, yet gave occaſion to a proſecution: but the accuſer had ſcarcely that number of voices in his favour, which could ſcreen him from the conſequences of a malicious accuſation.—The people ſaw clearly the advantages of the ſcheme which Demoſthenes propoſed; and, without any difficulty, adopted and confirmed it.

THEIR late debate only ſerved to demonſtrate what high notions they had formed of the merit and power of Philip: their magnificent ſchemes quickly vaniſhed, when it began to appear, that the deſigns of Ochus were all directed againſt Egypt; and the precarious condition of many of their dependent cities rouſed them from their dream of glory, to an humble and mortifying ſenſe of their weakneſs and danger. The poſſeſſions which they were labouring to maintain, or to recover, in Thrace, were every day threatened by ſome new attempt made by the vigilant and active king of Macedon, who was continually engaged in weakening their intereſt there, while his hoſtilities were apparently aimed againſt thoſe petty ſovereigns who divided that country, and who, by their mutual contentions for power, gave him a fair opportunity of carrying his arms into their territories, under pretence of ſuccouring the oppreſſed and weaker party. Ceroſobleptes, who commanded in the Thracian Cherſoneſus, ſoon perceived that he could not long defend that important diſtrict againſt the claim of Athens, and the arms of Philip: in order, therefore, to gain the friendſhip of the Athenians, he now determined to make a formal reſignation of the Cherſoneſus to this people: hoping, by this method, to attach them to his intereſt, and, by their aſſiſtance, to eſtabliſh himſelf in the reſt of the kingdom, on the ruin of Beriſades and Amadocus, the other two coheirs. This ceſſion was in the higheſt degree pleaſing to the Athenians: Ceroſobleptes was declared a citizen of Athens; the ſame honour was conferred

Demoſth. in Ariſtocr. Olymp. 106. Y. 104.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 34.

Dem. in Ariſtocr.

Epiſt. Phil.

ferred on Charidemus, who was then engaged in his ſervice, and aſſumed the greateſt ſhare of the merit of this conceſſion to himſelf; and flattered the people with hopes of ſtill farther advantages. In the ardour of their acknowledgments, the Athenians paſſed a decree, injoining all the allies and ſubjects of Athens to deliver up, alive or dead, any perſon who ſhould make an attempt on the life of Charidemus; which produced that oration againſt Ariſtocrates, the author of this decree, to which we are indebted for many particulars relating to the affairs of Thrace.

Demoſth. in Ariſtocr.

CHARES, who was now coaſting along the Helleſpont, was directed to receive thoſe places in the Cherſoneſus, which were thus yielded to the Athenians. He proceeded to execute his commiſſion, but found a vigorous oppoſition at Seſtos, one of the principal of theſe cities. He was obliged to beſiege it with all his force, and, having taken it by aſſault, treated the inhabitants with a ſeverity capable of intimidating all the other ſettlements from any farther oppoſition. All thoſe, who were of age to bear arms, were put to the ſword without mercy; the reſt reduced to ſlavery, and an Athenian colony immediately ſettled at Seſtos.

Diod. Sic. ut ſupra.

BUT there was one circumſtance which, in a great meaſure, defeated all the advantages which the Athenians might derive from the poſſeſſion of the Cherſoneſus. Cardia, the moſt conſiderable city of this peninſula, had ever appeared averſe to the Athenian government: it was ſituated on the iſthmus, and, of conſequence, commanded the entrance from Thrace, and was inabled to preclude the inner ſettlements from all the advantages of commerce. Its ſituation afforded room for ſome diſpute, whether it was to be conſidered as a part of the Cherſoneſus, or of the Thracian continent. It had been excepted in ſeveral treaties, by which the right of Athens to the Cherſoneſus was acknowledged; and now Cerſobleptes expreſſly reſerved Cardia to himſelf. The Athenians, on their part, though unable

Demoſth. in Ariſtocr. Diod. ut ſupra.

unable to ſupport their pretenſions to Cardia, yet ſtill aſſerted them; and thus a field was opened for perpetual diſputes, and Philip had a fair occaſion of diſtreſſing the Athenians, by uniting with the Cardians, and ſupporting their independence; a deſign which he was afterwards inabled effectually to execute.

In the mean time, this prince, ever reſtleſs and aſpiring, ever attentive to the ſchemes which his ambition dictated, and ever provided with ſome pretence to juſtify his hoſtilities againſt thoſe who were obnoxious to him, turned his thoughts to Methonè, as a city which his intereſts required him to reduce. Antient geographers mention ſeveral cities of this name: the principal of which were Methonè in Peloponneſus, ſituated between Epidaurus and Troezenè; another of the ſame name in Theſſaly, built on the coaſt of Magneſia; and a third, called the Thracian Methonè, ſituated on the Thermaïc bay, at the diſtance of * forty ſtadia from Pydna. This laſt city it was, to which Philip now laid ſiege, (as the authority of † Strabo, as well as that of Euſtathius, in his notes on the ſecond book of the Iliad, directs us to determine.) By its ſituation it was capable of ſerving as a kind of citadel to favour the excurſions of the enemies of Macedon into the heart of his dominions, whether of Cerſobleptes, againſt whom he made no ſcruple to avow his enmity; or of the Olynthians, on whoſe ruin he now ſeems to have reſolved, and who, on their part, had good reaſons to ſuſpect and dread his riſing power. Nor was this city leſs convenient to the Athenians, or leſs favourable to any attempts which they might make to invade his kingdom. Thither were their forces tranſported, as we have already ſeen, in the expedition in favour of Argaeus: and, in earlier times, as we learn from * Thucydides, they had experienced the convenience of this port, in making their deſcents on Macedon. He could not think of leaving ſuch a city open to his ſecret or declared enemies; and therefore determined to deſtroy it. The Methonèans, to whom his deſign could not be long a ſecret, prepared

* About four miles.

† in Excerpt. L. 7.

Oliv. L. 5. p. 189.

* L. 6.

prepared and exerted themſelves as men who fought for their very being; and, for a while, ſuſtained the ſiege with an obſtinate valour. One of the cities, called Methonè, had been employed in its fortifications from the time of the Trojan war: which the Greeks imputed to an imprecation pronounced by Agamemnon, who, when the inhabitants alledged this their engagement as an excuſe for not uniting their arms with him, prayed that theſe walls, which thus prevented them from joining in the common cauſe of Greece, might never be finiſhed. Theopompus, as quoted by * Strabo, underſtands this of the city which Philip now beſieged: and, if ſo, the Methonèans had ſtrength, as well as valour, to oppoſe Philip: while the Athenians, on their part, alarmed at this new inſtance of his reſtleſs ambition, were preparing to ſend powerful ſuccours to the beſieged.

Strabo L. 8 p. 375.

* in loco citat.

Phil. 1. Sect. 13.

DURING the operations of this ſiege, as Philip was employed in viewing the works, and directing the approaches, an arrow, ſhot from the town, wounded him dangerouſly in the eye, and caſt the beſiegers into the utmoſt confuſion. But they were ſoon re-animated by the vigour and reſolution of their prince, who gave orders, with the utmoſt calmneſs and intrepidity, for continuing the ſiege, and committed himſelf to the care of Critobulus, a chirurgeon, whoſe ſkill, in ſo important a cure, hiſtory has thought worthy to be recorded: and who, though he could not ſave his eye, yet contrived, by his dexterity, to take away all the blemiſh which might have been expected from ſuch an accident. When the arrow was extracted, this inſcription is ſaid to have appeared on it, ASTER TO PHILIP'S RIGHT EYE; a circumſtance, on which ſome relations have been founded, that are unauthorized, and unſupported, by the more authentic writers. It is ſaid, (as the reader, who is at all converſant in modern compilements, perhaps need not be informed) that one Aſter of Amphipolis, or of Olynthus, according to others, recommended himſelf to the ſervice of Philip, by aſſuring him, that his ſkill in ſhooting was ſo accurate, that, with his bow, he could ſtrike down

Suidas in Καξανος.

Plin. L. 7. C. 37.

Suidas. Solin. C. 14, 15.

Tourreil. Not. in Philip. 1.

down birds in their full flight: to which Philip anſwered with contempt, "It is well! I ſhall make uſe of thee when I wage war "with ſtarlings:" and that After, ſtung with this neglect, threw himſelf into Methonè, whence he ſhot the arrow with the inſcription abovementioned. It is alſo added, that Philip ſent back the arrow, when extracted from his eye, with another inſcription, importing, that, if once maſter of the town, he ſhould hang up After; and that this threat was afterwards executed. Theſe laſt circumſtances intirely depend on the authority of Suidas and Ulpian; and are thought to be ſufficiently overturned by the honourable teſtimony which * Juſtin gives to the general clemency of Philip on this occaſion: but if the particulars, which monſieur Tourreil relates, be really authentic, (his authority, indeed, I confeſs, I have not been able to diſcover) it muſt be ſubmitted to thoſe who are acquainted with the laws of war, how far an extraordinary ſeverity may be juſtified againſt a man, who took ſo ſevere a method of approving his ſkill, and, at the ſame time, revenging the king's neglect. It is certain, that, whatever were the circumſtances really attending this wound, they muſt have reflected ſome degree of diſhonour upon Philip; as * Lucian, in his method of writing hiſtory, mentions, as an inſtance of the freedom with which hiſtorians ſhould write, that ſuch particulars as Philip's wound in the eye, or Alexander's killing Clitus, ſhould, by no means, be paſſed over. And; if his wound was the conſequence of a raſh and wanton neglect of a ſoldier's extraordinary abilities, his enemies muſt have triumphed, and he himſelf been aſhamed of his miſtake and his misfortune. Such a ſuppoſition may account for that ſenſibility which Philip is ſaid to have felt ever after, to ſuch a degree, that the bare repetition of the word EYE was painful and offenſive to him. As to any wounds received nobly in the courſe of war, it cannot be ſuppoſed, that a prince of his exalted ſentiments, and thirſt for glory, could have conſidered them in any other light, but as the memorials of his valour. But if the recollection of them ſuggeſted the idea of his miſtaken conduct, and unwarrantable inatten-

* Lib. 7. in fine.

* p. 365. Edit. Lut.

Demetrius Phal. de Elocut. C. 3.

tion

tion to his intereſt; then it muſt neceſſarily have covered him with confuſion. Indeed as to the word CYCLOPS, by which his enemies frequently pointed him out; the offence, which he is ſaid to have conceived at it, may as well be ſuppoſed to have ariſen from its conveying the idea of a cruel and barbarous monſter, incapable of the ſentiments of humanity.

THE wound of their prince, which had at firſt thrown the Macedonians into confuſion, now ſerved only to animate them, when they found the danger over, and that Philip was ſtill inabled to direct the ſiege with unabated vigour. The inhabitants of Methonè, on their part, continued to make an obſtinate defence. The Macedonians were ordered to prepare for a general aſſault; and, animated by the preſence of their royal general, encouraged by his promiſes, and inflamed by the example of his reſolution, they preſſed forward with ſufficient eagerneſs, and boldly mounted the walls. The oppoſition of the beſieged could not prevent conſiderable numbers from gaining the battlements; when, to cut off all retreat, Philip inſtantly ordered the ſcaling ladders to be removed; thus leaving his men to the deſperate alternative, either of dying, or purſuing their advantage. The Methonèans ſoon found all reſiſtance vain; laid down their arms, and ſubmitted to the mercy of the victor; who, if we may believe * Juſtin, treated them, on this occaſion, not only with moderation, but kindneſs. † Diodorus informs us more explicitly, that the conditions which he granted them were theſe: that the inhabitants ſhould be ſuffered to march out unmoleſted, with one ſuit of apparel only; and that the city, with all the reſt of its poſſeſſions, ſhould be delivered up without reſerve. And, in theſe times, when ſlavery was generally the unhappy lot of the conquered, and their enemy was deemed abſolute proprietor of their perſons, as well as their poſſeſſions, ſuch terms muſt have deſervedly been eſteemed moderate and favourable.

Polyaen. Stratag. L. 4.

* L. 7. in fin.

† L. 16. Sect. 34.

Demoſ. Phil. 1. Sect. 13. Diod. ut ſupra.

THUS was Philip in poſſeſſion of Methonè, while the Athenian ſuccours were ſailing to its relief. The city was razed to the ground; and the lands divided among his ſoldiers: and thus were his enemies deprived of a ſtation which they might have occupied with advantage, and a colony planted there intirely in the intereſt of Macedon, ready to watch their deſigns, and to give the alarm on the leaſt appearance of commotion, bound particularly to Philip by all the ties which could engage men; by the opinion of his power, his abilities, and his merit; and by the benefits which he well knew how to beſtow upon them, with the appearance of the moſt cordial and undeſigning affection and liberality.

Oliv. L. 5. p. 195.

THE French author of his life here ſeems ſtrongly affected by his hero's laudable diſpoſition, equally influenced by the pleaſure of beſtowing, and that of animating the virtue of his ſoldiers, by the rewards which his bounty dealt to them. In one inſtance he obſerves this happy temper engaged him in an act of injuſtice, which gave him much uneaſineſs, but which he found means of repairing. The reader may, perhaps, not be diſpleaſed at having the narration ſuſpended by the introduction of this anecdote, which Seneca hath preſerved.

Seneca de Benef. C. 37.

A CERTAIN ſoldier, in the Macedonian army, had, in many inſtances, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by extraordinary acts of valour, and had received many marks of Philip's favour and approbation. On ſome occaſion he imbarked on board a veſſel, which was wrecked by a violent ſtorm, and he himſelf caſt on the ſhore, helpleſs and naked, and ſcarcely with the appearance of life. A Macedonian, whoſe lands were contiguous to the ſea, came opportunely to be witneſs of his diſtreſs, and, with all humane and charitable tenderneſs, flew to the relief of the unhappy ſtranger. He bore him to his houſe, laid him in his own bed, revived, cheriſhed, comforted, and, for forty days, ſupplied him freely with all the neceſſaries and conveniençies

niencies which his languiſhing condition could require. The ſoldier, thus happily reſcued from death, was inceſſant in the warmeſt expreſſions of gratitude to his benefactor, aſſured him of his intereſt with the king, and of his power and reſolution of obtaining for him, from the royal bounty, the noble returns which ſuch extraordinary benevolence had merited. He was now compleatly recovered, and his kind hoſt ſupplied him with money to purſue his journey. In ſome time after, he preſented himſelf before the king, he recounted his misfortunes, magnified his ſervices; and this inhuman wretch, who had looked with an eye of envy on the poſſeſſions of the man who had preſerved his life, was now ſo abandoned to all ſenſe of gratitude, as to requeſt that the king would beſtow upon him the houſe and lands where he had been ſo tenderly and kindly entertained. Unhappily Philip, without examination, inconſiderately and precipitately granted his infamous requeſt; and this ſoldier now returned to his preſerver, and repaid his goodneſs, by driving him from his little ſettlement, and taking immediate poſſeſſion of all the fruits of his honeſt induſtry. The poor man, ſtung with this inſtance of unparalled ingratitude and inſenſibility, boldly determined, inſtead of ſubmitting to his wrongs, to ſeek relief; and, in a letter addreſſed to Philip, repreſented his own and the ſoldier's conduct in a lively and affecting manner. The king was inſtantly fired with indignation; he ordered that juſtice ſhould be done without delay; that the poſſeſſions ſhould be immediately reſtored to the man whoſe charitable offices had been thus horridly repaid; and, having ſeized his ſoldier, cauſed theſe words to be branded on his forehead, THE UNGRATEFUL GUEST: a character infamous in every age, and among all nations; but particularly among the Greeks, who, from the earlieſt times, were moſt ſcrupulouſly obſervant of the laws of hoſpitality.

BOOK II. SECTION II.

CONTENTS.

HISTORY of the ſacred war continued.—Onomarchus created general of the Phocians.—His aſſiduity and addreſs.—He prepares vigorouſly for action.—Takes Thronium, Amphiſſa, and Orchomenus.—Is defeated before Chaeronea.—Philip, at length, engaged as a party in the ſacred war.—The diſorders in Theſſaly.—Philip marches againſt the tyrants who had attempted to reſume the ſovereign power, and defeats them.—Onomarchus prepares to ſupport them.—Philip receives a ſignal defeat.—Onomarchus ravages Boeotia.—His ſecret practices with Lycophron,—diſcovered by Philip,—who marches once more againſt Lycophron and the Phocians.—Gains a compleat victory.—The death of Onomarchus.—Philip's meaſures to ſecure the attachment of the Theſſalians.—His reputation.—The jealouſy of the Athenians.—An union between their ſtate and Olynthus.—Commotions in Thrace.—Philip beſieges Heraeum.—Confuſion at Athens.—Sickneſs of Philip calms the apprehenſions of the Athenian people.—Philip's firſt hoſtilities in the Olynthian territories.—Phaylus ſucceeds Onomarchus in the command of the

the Phocian army.—Applies to Athens and Sparta.—Inſidious project of Archidamus, for reconciling the different intereſts of the Grecian ſtates.—Diſorders in Peloponneſus;--which promiſe advantages to Philip.--Actions of Phaylus.—Philip determines to purſue his ſucceſs in Greece.—Marches towards Thermopylae.—The Athenians terrified at his attempt.—Seize the paſſes.—Philip retires.—His ſubſequent conduct, as related by Juſtin.--The late behaviour of the Athenians variouſly received and repreſented.—Their joy at Philip's retreat.—They continue to guard the ſtreights.—The firſt Philippic oration of Demoſthenes.

BOOK

BOOK the SECOND

SECTION II.

THE defeat of Philomelus, as hath already been obſerved, cloſed the ſecond year of the ſacred war; when the confederates, who had united to defend the authority of the Amphictyonic council, retired into their own territories; and the Phocians were led back to Delphi by Onomarchus, delivered for a time from the horrors of a war, in which they had already ſo ſeverely ſuffered. This interval of reſt they firſt began to employ in convening a general aſſembly of their allies and auxiliaries, to conſult about the war, and the meaſures to be purſued in their preſent diſtreſsful circumſtances. In this aſſembly, the opinions were conſiderably divided, according to the different paſſions or intereſts which influenced that great variety of members who compoſed it. Many, deeply affected by the proſpect of their danger, and the odiouſneſs of their cauſe, judged that an accommodation ſhould be purchaſed on any terms, and declared violently for peace. Others, who dreaded the reſentment of the enemy, or who had engaged in this unpopular quarrel, merely from expectation of large pay and rich plunder, and whoſe abandoned manners rendered them inſenſible of diſgrace and infamy, declared as violently for the continuance of a war, on which alone their rapacious hopes and proſpect of ſecurity were founded; and

Olymp. 106. Y. 4.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 32.

inforced

inforced their opinions by every plauſible argument which might have weight in a popular aſſembly. After ſome paſſionate debates, each party was for a while ſilent; while the leaders turned their eyes around, to look for ſome man of conſequence, whoſe opinion might determine the fate of this important deliberation.

In this ſuſpence they did not long continue. Onomarchus, who was fully prepared for the part he had now to act, roſe up, and inſtantly engaged the attention of the whole body. This chief, who had a peculiar intereſt in the continuance of the war, addreſſed himſelf to the aſſembly in an artful and premeditated harangue, calculated to diſſipate their fears, and to inliven their expectations. With a conſummate addreſs he inforced every plauſible argument for war, every motive of intereſt and of honour, which might induce the Phocians, and their allies, to purſue the plan which their late general had formed. His harangue was ſpecious and inſinuating; and numbers were found in the aſſembly to eccho his ſentiments. All opinions of moderation, all repreſentations of difficulty and danger, were drowned in the violence of acclamations and tumultuous applauſe; and, without farther conſultation, it was reſolved to purſue the moſt vigorous meaſures for ſupporting the war: and Onomarchus was inveſted with full powers, as commander in chief of the Phocian army.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 32.

No ſooner was he thus raiſed to the dignity which had been the object of his wiſhes, but he began to exert himſelf in ſuch a manner, as to confirm the expectations his people had conceived from him. He applied himſelf, with the utmoſt diligence and vigour, to the re-eſtabliſhment of his army, which the late engagement had conſiderably weakened. Every part of Greece was ranſacked for mercenaries, whom he inticed to his ſtandard by his munificence and flattering aſſurances. By theſe, (whom he incorporated with thoſe companies in which the greateſt havock had been made) he not

Ibid.

not only reſtored, but augmented, his army: and once more inabled the Phocians to threaten their inveterate enemies with a formidable oppoſition. And, while thus employed in making every neceſſary proviſion for war, he alſo took care, in imitation of his predeceſſor, to work on the ſuperſtition and ignorance of his people, and to find out dreams and portents, in order to inſpire them with hopes of ſucceſs. While his mind was poſſeſſed with magnificent ſchemes and deſigns, he dreamed, or pretended to have dreamed, that he was employed in raiſing a coloſſal ſtatue, which the Amphictyons had dedicated to Apollo; and that it appeared to grow greater under his hands. This * Diodorus ſeriouſly interprets as a declaration, that this general ſhould be the means of making thoſe wretched Phocians doubly repay the outrages committed againſt the deity and his temple. But Onomarchus was furniſhed with diviners, who explained it in a quite different manner, as an indication of that great acceſſion of glory and honour, which his army was to acquire under their new commander.

* L. 16. Sect. 33.

His vigour and aſſiduity gave weight to this interpretation. To repair every damage ſuſtained in the laſt battle, he applied himſelf to provide weapons for the numbers he had now levied. All his armourers were employed inceſſantly; and vaſt quantities of arms, offenſive and defenſive, were provided with all expedition. The gold and ſilver, which the rapine of his predeceſſor, or his own induſtry or violence, had amaſſed, was quickly coined; and his agents diſperſed through the neighbouring ſtates that were in alliance with Phocis, where they diſtributed his money to the magiſtrates and citizens of eminence, to attach them the more firmly to his intereſt, and to bear down all oppoſition in their popular aſſemblies. Nor were even his enemies intirely proof againſt the powerful temptations by which he ſecretly aſſailed their fidelity. Numbers of them were found, who eagerly received his bribes, and were prevailed on to revolt to the Phocians, or, at leaſt, to obſerve a neutrality: ſuch

Ibid.

was the power of gold, and ſuch the univerſal degeneracy and corruption which now prevailed through Greece. And while he thus laboured to increaſe the number of his friends, and to weaken his enemies, by theſe his ſecret practices, he, at the ſame time, eſtabliſhed his intereſt at home, by the moſt arbitrary and deſpotic meaſures. Murmurings and diſcontents, which the calamities of war naturally excited, and that ſenſe of the odiouſneſs of their cauſe, which ſtill remained among the more moderate and virtuous part of his countrymen, could not but increaſe, were inſtantly ſtifled by the moſt tyrannical ſeverities. If any preſumed to expreſs the leaſt diſſatisfaction at his conduct, they were loaded with chains, deſpoiled of their poſſeſſions, and put to death with every circumſtance of cruelty: a procedure which not only ſerved to weaken and intimidate the party which oppoſed him, but inabled him to promote his deſigns, by the additional wealth acquired from theſe confiſcations.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 33.

And now, having made all the neceſſary preparations, Onomarchus marched out, at the head of his forces, and made an irruption into the territories of the Locrians, called Epicnemidii. Here he began with attacking Thronium, a city on their confines; and, having taken it by aſſault, expoſed it to the rapaciouſneſs of his ſoldiers, and made ſlaves of the inhabitants. From thence he proceeded to Amphiſſa, a town of the Locrians, ſurnamed Ozolae. The Amphiſſèans, intimidated by the ſeverities inflicted on the people of Thronium, did not attempt the leaſt oppoſition: but inſtantly ſubmitted to ſuch terms as the conqueror was pleaſed to dictate; and, probably, by a large ſum of money, reſcued their city from the inſatiable fury of his army. Hence he poured down on the territories of Doris; where, having taken ſome cities, and deſolated the lands, he traverſed his own country, and, by a forced march, pierced into Boeotia. Here he ſeized the famous city of Orchomenus: and, having ſpread the terror of his arms, ruſhed forward with a precipi-

tate

tate fury, and prepared to lay ſiege to Chaeronea; when the Thebans, who were now ready to ſtem the torrent, marched out to meet the Phocians, by this time conſiderably weakened by their repeated conqueſts and the garriſons they had ſtationed in the ſeveral conquered towns. A general engagement enſued, in which Onomarchus was defeated, and drove back to Phocis.

HITHERTO we have ſeen this conteſt carried on independent of Macedon, and Philip viewing, with a ſeeming unconcern, the havock, the variety of fortune, the victories and calamities of the contending powers. But, at length, the time was come, when his honour and policy required that he ſhould take ſome ſhare in this quarrel. Lycophron, whom Philip had obliged to reſign his uſurped authority in Theſſaly, had not yet loſt all hopes of re-eſtabliſhing his power; but ſecretly formed and ſtrengthened his party, waiting for ſome favourable opportunity to avow his intentions. To him, among other conſiderable perſonages, Onomarchus had applied, and, partly by the intereſt which Lycophron maintained among the Theſſalians, partly by the natural inconſtancy of that people, his intrigues and bribery proved ſo ſucceſsful, that Theſſaly ſeparated from the confederates, and profeſſed to obſerve a neutrality in the ſacred war. The Phocian chief, juſtly conſidered himſelf principally indebted to Lycophron for this important ſervice, and that his intereſt muſt be greatly advanced by the reſtauration of this tyrant. By his means, and in his name, he even hoped to gain the abſolute command of Theſſaly, and to become the real ſovereign, while Lycophron, who was to govern by his ſupport, could govern only for his purpoſes. Seven thouſand of his forces, therefore, were diſpatched to Pherae, under the command of his brother Phayllus, to ſupport the tyrant; who, encouraged by this powerful alliance, eſtabliſhed himſelf in that city, and openly aſſerted his pretenſions to the ſovereign power.

Diod. L. 16. Sect. 33.

Sect. 35.

THE deſertion of Theſſaly was regarded by the Thebans with an affected contempt. That people, determined to convince the world that they could not poſſibly be diſtreſſed by ſuch inſtability, detached five thouſand men into Aſia, under the conduct of their general Pammenes, to aſſiſt Artabazus, (who ſtill continued his rebellion; but, when Chares was obliged to quit his ſervice, found himſelf reduced to conſiderable difficulties.) Here Pammenes gained repeated victories; and, by his conduct, gave peculiar pleaſure to the Thebans, who, ever ſince the famous Perſian war, in which they had united their arms with the Barbarian, eagerly wiſhed for any glorious opportunity of retrieving their honour, by ſome gallant exploits againſt the antient enemy of Greece.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 34.

Dem. Orat. de Claſſ.

BUT the king of Macedon could not look with indifference on this conduct of the Theſſalians, which ſeemed to argue the declenſion of his influence in their ſtate; nor could his honour permit him to ſuffer the total ſubverſion of thoſe glorious regulations, thoſe proviſions for the peace and liberty of Theſſaly, which his arms had lately made. The ſollicitations with which his friends and adherents, in that country, now urged him to take up arms in their defence, were not wanted to prevail upon him. He inſtantly marched into Theſſaly. (I follow the opinion of a learned * commentator in ſuppoſing, that) on this occaſion it was, he formed the ſiege of Pagaſae, which Demoſthenes ſo frequently mentions. The Athenians were informed of this tranſaction; they reſolved to ſend ſuccours to the town; and, as uſual, executed this reſolution, when the addreſs and valour of the Macedonian had already rendered him maſter of it. Lycophron, and his auxiliaries, prepared to meet the enemy, but ſoon proved unequal to Philip and his valiant army. Onomarchus, ſenſible of their danger, marched out with ſpeed to join them, but could not arrive till they had received a total defeat, and were chaced out of Theſſaly.

* Lucceſini Not. in Phil. 1.

Philipp. 1. Sect. 13.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 35.

AND

AND now Philip, having reinforced his army with thoſe Theſſalians who ſtill continued well-affected to him, prepared to meet Onomarchus, who was advancing with all his powers. The Phocians were ſuperior in numbers: but the Macedonian Phalanx was, by this time, renowned through all Greece. Onomarchus dreaded its attack, and juſtly conceived that his ſucceſs wholly depended on breaking this formidable body. The two armies met, and, at the very firſt charge, the Phocians gave way, and were purſued to ſome high mountains contiguous to the field of battle. The Macedonians preſſed on, confident of victory; but ſoon had horrid proof, that the retreat of their enemy was no more than an artifice, which the ſagacious foreſight of their general had ſuggeſted and contrived. The Phocians now began the attack in earneſt, and make effectual uſe of thoſe weapons, which had been provided for the execution of their deſign. Stones, and fragments of rocks, of an enormous ſize, were rolled down upon their aſſailants, whoſe ſanguine hopes were quickly loſt in amazement and confuſion; whole files were, in an inſtant, cruſhed to pieces, with every circumſtance of horror. The Phalanx, whoſe cloſe order ſerved but to increaſe the havock, was broken, and, in that ſtate, unable to ſuſtain the aſſaults of their enemy, who now marched down in good order from the mountains, and fell, with all their fury, upon an army already vanquiſhed. The valour and activity of Philip here proved, for the firſt time, ineffectual: the Macedonians were forced from the field of battle, which was become a horrid ſcene of ruin and carnage. Their prince, however, after many fruitleſs efforts, at length brought off his forces to an even ground, out of the reach of the enemy, where he, with difficulty, reſtored their order, and revived their courage. But as the Phocians had been at firſt ſuperior in numbers, and as great havock had been made in his army, he found it moſt adviſeable to march back to Macedon; obſerving, on this occaſion, that his ſoldiers

Polyaen. Stratag. L. 2. C. 28.

Polyean. Stratag. L. 2. C. 28.

diers did not fly from the enemy, but, like rams, retired, in order to make their ſhock the more forcible and furious. [A]

LYCOPHRON was thus inabled to return triumphant into Theſſaly; while Onomarchus, elevated by his victory over a prince who had hitherto been regarded as invincible, marched into Boeotia, where he gained another victory, and then proceeded to attack the city of Coronea. This city was built on an eminence near mount Helicon. On the eaſt, it was defended by the lake Copaïs, which prevented it from being intirely inveſted, and ſerved to convey a conſtant ſupply of proviſions, by water, from the other cities of Boeotia. The river Curalius, as it winded round to fall into the lake, formed a natural foſsè on the ſouth: but, on the north, the city was intirely open, as the Thebans, in order to preſerve their ſuperiority in Boeotia, and to ſecure the dependence of this city, had filled up the trench, and demoliſhed the fortifications on that ſide. A city, thus diſmantled, was by no means capable of oppoſing a numerous and victorious army. Onomarchus entered without any conſiderable oppoſition, and inſulted and terrified the Thebans, by the devaſtations which he committed, without controul, in the very heart of their dominions. Thus chaſtiſed for their vanity in weakening their ſtrength by the Aſiatic expedition, this people looked on Philip as their moſt effectual reſource, and expected, with impatience, the moment when he ſhould be enabled to make a diverſion in their favour. He had been diligently engaged in re-eſtabliſhing and ſtrengthening his forces, and now appeared once more in Theſſaly at the head of a formidable army, and advanced boldly upon the tyrant.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 35.

Strabo L. 9. p. 411.

Olivier L. 5. p. 203.

Diod. Sic. ut ſupra.

[A] ACCORDING to Diodorus, (L. 16. Sect. 35.) Philip renewed the engagement, and was again defeated; which reduced him to the greateſt danger and difficulty. A conſiderable part of his army deſerted; and the reſt were, by the utmoſt efforts of his addreſs and policy, ſcarcely prevailed on to adhere to him. By chuſing to follow the account of Polyaenus, I apprehend the greater honour is paid to Philip's conduct and abilities as a general.

LY-

LYCOPHRON, fully ſenſible of his own weakneſs and inſufficiency, made the moſt preſſing inſtances to Onomarchus, to march immediately to his relief. He laviſhed the moſt flattering promiſes on this crafty and ambitious chief; he aſſured him, that the Phocians ſhould abſolutely command Theſſaly, and all its forces; and that he, and thoſe dominions which he was labouring to maintain, ſhould be ever at the devotion of their protectors and deliverers. Pleaſed with the proſpect of ſo important an acceſſion of power, Onomarchus did not heſitate a moment to comply with the tyrant's deſires. He was now at the head of an army capable of undertaking the moſt hazardous enterprizes; he imagined himſelf already ſovereign commander of all Theſſaly, and marched boldly to reinforce his ally with twenty thouſand foot and five hundred horſe. The forces which Philip had brought from Macedon, he was ſenſible, were, by no means, able to encounter ſo formidable and numerous an army: to the Theſſalians, therefore, he was obliged to addreſs himſelf, whoſe cauſe he affected to aſſert, and for whoſe liberty he profeſſed himſelf wholly ſollicitous. He induſtriouſly and artfully repreſented to them, that the junction of Lycophron and Onomarchus muſt prove fatal to their freedom and happineſs; that their tyrant, not content with harraſſing and oppreſſing them himſelf, had now ſold them to a foreign power for a vain ſhew, and empty title of ſovereignty; that even of that he muſt be quickly ſtripped, and Theſſaly totally loſt in a mean dependence upon Phocis. In the ſacrilegious quarrels of this people, the braveſt among the Theſſalians muſt be forced to ſhed their blood ignobly; to ſee their poſſeſſions torn from them, and all their fertile plains ranſacked and ravaged to ſatiate the avarice and rapine of a chief, impiouſly rebellious againſt heaven and Greece. All theſe, and ſuch-like remonſtrances, he knew how to inforce with conſummate artifice; and ſo inflamed the minds of the generality of the Theſſalians, that they breathed nothing but fury againſt Lycophron and Onomarchus; they acknowledged the king of Macedon their leader, their protector, and deliverer; and crowded to his ſtandard with

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 35.

Ibid.

with a warm and cordial zeal. By theſe means, Philip ſoon found himſelf at the head of twenty thouſand foot, and three thouſand of the beſt cavalry in Greece.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 35.

THE two contending armies now advanced againſt each other, equally eager to engage, and equally poſſeſſed with hopes of victory. Glory and ambition were motives ſufficiently animating to Philip; and his ſoldiers alſo he well knew how to animate. His cauſe was fair and popular: he fought againſt tyranny and oppreſſion, againſt ſacrilege and profanation, in defence of liberty, of Greece, but particularly in defence of Apollo. He ordered all his men to crown their heads with laurel, a tree ſacred to that god; and his enſigns he adorned with the emblems and attributes of his divinity. And thus the Macedonians and Theſſalians marched on with an enthuſiaſtic valour, as if commiſſioned by heaven to inflict its vengeance on ſacrilege and profanation. The Phocians, whom the appearance of the enemy had ſtruck with a conſciouſneſs of their guilt, were charged with all imaginable fury; yet fought like men animated by deſpair, and ſenſible of the neceſſity of defending their iniquity. The infantry, on each ſide, equal in numbers, and equally obſtinate, kept the victory for ſome time doubtful; till the Theſſalian cavalry advanced, and determined the fortune of the battle. The Phocians, unable to ſuſtain their force and valour, were broken, defeated, and purſued with conſiderable ſlaughter. Horror and diſmay hurried great numbers of them towards the ſea, which was contiguous to the field of battle; and, among theſe, their general Onomarchus. Here they beheld, at ſome diſtance, a fleet which ſeemed to advance towards the ſhore, and which they juſtly concluded to be the ſuccours which Athens had ſent to them under the command of Chares; and which arrived only to be witneſſes of their ruin. Inſtead of attempting to ſtem the torrent of the victorious enemy, and to make ſome ſtand till this fleet might advance ſo far as to afford them, at leaſt, the opportunity of an orderly retreat, their terror and impa-

Juſtin. L. 8. C. 2.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 36.

tience

tience plunged them headlong into the ſea, in hopes, by ſwimming, to find their ſecurity in the ſhips. Here numbers of them faint with the loſs of blood, and confounded by their fears, ſunk under their wounds and fatigue, or were forced down by the tumult. Onomarchus himſelf ſhared this unhappy fate; or, as * Pauſanias hath aſſerted, fell a victim to the revenge and indignation of his own ſoldiers; who imputed their ruin to his ignorance and cowardice, and forced him down into the deep, covered over with wounds. More than ſix thouſand Phocians periſhed in this precipitate flight, and on the field of battle: three thouſand were made priſoners, and reſerved for all the ſeverity which the general laws of Greece denounced againſt ſacrilege. To expreſs the warmer zeal for religion, Philip ordered his ſoldiers to ſearch for the body of that impious chief, whoſe profane arms heaven had thus puniſhed; and cauſed it to be hung on a gibbet, as a dreadful memorial of iniquity and divine vengeance. The other bodies of the ſlain he gave to the waves and winds, as of wretches unworthy of interment, and the common rights of mankind. He was alſo authorized, by the laws of Greece, to inflict the ſame rigour on thoſe who had fallen alive into his hands: but whether he cauſed them likewiſe to be thrown into the ſea, ſeems not intirely clear from the expreſſion of Diodorus; though a French compiler of this hiſtory ſuppoſes, that the dead only were thus treated, and that it is probable he contented himſelf with reducing his priſoners to the condition of ſlaves, the mildeſt puniſhment denounced againſt ſacrilege: but whether ſuch mercy was conſiſtent with Philip's preſent political views of ſetting up for a prince of the moſt conſummate piety, and a zealous avenger of the god's injured honour, may, on the other hand, be juſtly made a queſtion. So that the fate of theſe unhappy captives muſt for ever remain in obſcurity.

* in Phoc.

Philo. Jud. in Euſeb. Præp. L. 8. p. 392.

Vallois, in Acad. Bell. Lett. Vol. 12.

THIS victory convinced Lycophron of the neceſſity of once more reſigning his pretenſions to the government of Theſſaly; and obliged

Olynth. 3. Sect. 6.

him to retire from Pherae. That city, together with Pagaſae, his late conqueſt, and Magneſia, another town of conſiderable note in Theſſaly, Philip reſerved to himſelf, the better to ſecure the dependence of the inconſtant Theſſalians; who were, at preſent, unwilling and unable to diſpute the deciſions of their deliverer, and, without difficulty, ſubmitted to thoſe regulations which he made under pretence of reſtoring their tranquillity, but, in reality, to keep them firmly attached to Macedon. Thither he now directed his courſe, crowned with glory and victory; the ſubject of univerſal praiſe through Greece, where, from this time, he began to be regarded as a prince really great and powerful. Stateſmen admired the depths of his policy, and generals acknowledged the ſuperiority of his military conduct and abilities; while the lower orders of men, who were incapable of penetrating into his real deſigns, and were affected only by thoſe fair appearances with which he veiled them, revered and applauded him as a religious prince, the ſcourge of ſacrilege, and defender of Apollo.

AT Athens, his great actions ſeem to have been received with envy and jealouſy. A people enervated by indolence and luxury, devoted to ſelf-enjoyment, and, at the ſame time, elevated with pride and national vanity, were no longer able to ſupport their antient reputation, yet could not give up the flattering remembrance of it: they perceived the gradual advances of a new and unſuſpected rival to conſummate greatneſs and ſovereignty; but perceived them with an impotent indignation. Convinced of the abſolute neceſſity to check the progreſs of his arms, yet fatally averſe to thoſe vigorous meaſures which ſo important a deſign required, they amuſed themſelves with ſchemes of raiſing up ſome other enemy to Philip, who might divert him from thoſe excurſions which threatened Greece in general, and particularly the Athenians. The confederated ſtates of Olynthus ſeemed to be the only power fitted for this purpoſe. It was urged vehemently, that the Olynthians, if poſſible, were to be engaged

Demoſth. Olynth. 2. Sect. 4.

gaged in a quarrel with Macedon, as the only means of confining the views of this enterprizing prince to his own neighbourhood; and, while they were thus ſollicitous to throw the buſineſs of their own defence on others, they applauded the deſign, as the reſult of deep and extenſive policy, though really dictated by their love of eaſe. The Olynthians, on their part, encouraged them in theſe their ſchemes of depreſſing their rival, by the uneaſineſs and ſuſpicions of Philip, which they now diſcovered. The late reduction of Methonè, which implied a peculiar diffidence of them, ſeems to have alarmed them with a lively ſenſe of the danger to be apprehended from their aſpiring neighbour. They envied, they dreaded, they ſuſpected him, in ſpite of all the favours he had, ſome time ſince, conferred upon them; they deemed it abſolutely neceſſary to guard againſt the deſigns of a prince inceſſantly employed in enlarging his power, and extending his dominions. They regarded the ſtate of Athens as the only ballance againſt Macedon; and, about this time, applied to the Athenians, to propoſe an accommodation of all antient differences, and to enter into ſuch terms of friendſhip, as might be the baſis of a future ſtrict connexion, and of an alliance defenſive and offenſive. Overtures, ſo conſonant to their own ſentiments, were readily embraced by that people, whoſe aſſemblies, the only ſcenes in which their vigour was diſplayed, ſeem to have been conſtantly engaged in deliberations about the conduct of Philip, the tendency of his deſigns, and the means of guarding againſt them. But, while the Athenians were conſulting, the Macedonian purſued his conqueſts; and, by new inſtances of his active ſpirit, caſt them into new diſmay and conſternation.

Demoſth. in Ariſtocr.

FRESH commotions, which aroſe in Thrace, determined this prince, ever indefatigable in the purſuit of his deſigns, once more to march into that country. Here Beriſades, one of the coheirs of Cotys, was dead; and Cerſobleptes, without regard to thoſe engagements which he had entered into with Athens, and which ſecured

Ibid.

the intereſts of the other brothers, and probably ſupported and ſecretly encouraged by the king of Macedon, attacked the ſons of Beriſades, and his brother Amadocus, and ſeemed determined, if poſſible, to gain the intire ſovereignty of Thrace. The ſeveral members of this family, who had oftentimes experienced the vanity of a dependence on Athens, now began to find it expedient to court the friendſhip of Philip. To him their differences were ſubmitted: and, in the diſpoſitions which he now made, his own intereſt only was conſidered. Amadocus, and the family of Beriſades, ſeem to have been driven by him from their dominions, (for antient authors ſpeak but obſcurely of theſe tranſactions) and Cerſobleptes, who had, by this time, gained the friendſhip of Philip, eſtabliſhed on their ruin. Teres, another petty prince, who claimed a part of this country, but of whom we have no particular accounts, ſeems alſo to have had his power eſtabliſhed and enlarged by Philip, who thus diſtributed dominions as he pleaſed, and, by his nod, determined the fate of contending potentates.

Demoſth. Olynth. 3. Sect. 6.
Juſtin. L. 8. C. 3.
Dem. Olyn. 3. Sect. 6.
Dem. in Ariſt.
Phil. Liter. Lucceſini in Olynth. 1.

WHILE he was thus engaged, his attention, fixed eternally on the purſuit of new conqueſts, directed him to an attempt, which diſcovered the depth of his penetration, and the extent of his views. Heraeum was a fortified place, built by the Samians in Thrace, overagainſt Chalcedon, and ſo called from the name of Juno, who was worſhipped in that country with peculiar honours. The place was of no great conſequence in itſelf; its harbour was dangerous and deceitful; but it ſerved as a kind of citadel to Byzantium, an eminent Thracian city, and of the utmoſt conſequence to the Athenian intereſt, as it was one great mart from which the barren land of Attica was ſupplied with the neceſſary means of ſubſiſtence for its inhabitants. With a view, no doubt, of facilitating the conqueſt of ſo important a city, Philip now laid ſiege to Heraeum. The Athenians, though too inattentive and ſupine to guard againſt their danger, yet had penetration to conceive it in its full extent, and to ſee through the

Stephan. in voce Ηραια.
Herod. L. 4.
Harpocrat.
Lucceſini in Olynth. 3.
Dem. Olyn. 2. Sect. 3.

the whole ſcheme of their enemy. The news, therefore, of this attack, raiſed a commotion, hitherto unknown, in the aſſembly at Athens. Some of the orators exerted all their powers in repreſenting the danger which threatened the ſtate, and in inveighing againſt the injuſtice and ambition of Philip: others, in defending or palliating the conduct of a prince, who had attached them to his intereſt by the power of gold. After ſome time ſpent in the warmth of mutual oppoſition, a decree was formally made, that forty ſhips of war ſhould be inſtantly ſent to ſea; that all the citizens of Athens, within the age of five and forty years (though uſually exempted at forty from military ſervice) ſhould now imbark on board this fleet, as in a time of urgent diſtreſs and difficulty; and that ſixty talents ſhould be raiſed to ſupport this formidable armament.

BUT new advices were now received to ſuſpend the effect of theſe reſolutions, and to lull this infatuated people into their former ſtate of inſenſibility. The fatigue of conſtant action, joined to the effects of the wound which Philip had received at Methonè, threw him into a dangerous fit of ſickneſs, which alarmed the Macedonians, and interrupted their military operations. The news of this event was ſoon received with the utmoſt joy at Athens, and, as is uſual in ſuch caſes, was propagated with circumſtances far exceeding the truth; ſo that the people were now flattered with aſſurances, that the king of Macedon was dead. They reſigned themſelves, with the utmoſt credulity, to the pleaſing hopes of being thus eaſily delivered from their dangerous enemy: their late decrees for war, and vigorous meaſures, lay totally neglected and forgotten; months paſſed away in indolence and pleaſures: their entertainments, and religious ceremonies, were deemed objects worthier attention, than their defence and ſecurity: nor did they ever once think of executing their late reſolutions, till a full year elapſed; and, even then, all their projected preparations were reduced to ten veſſels, under the command of Charidemus, (who was, at this time, engaged in their ſervice) without

Dem. Olyn. 2. Sect. 3.

ſoldiers

ſoldiers ſufficient to man them, and with an inconſiderable ſum of money to ſupport them.

BUT, while the Athenians were gradually ſinking into this dangerous ſtate of ſecurity, Philip's happy temperament, and robuſt habit of body, freed him from his preſent diſeaſe, and inabled him to proceed in the execution of his deſigns. It doth not clearly appear, whether his attempt againſt Heraeum was ſucceſsful, or whether his ſickneſs ſaved that Place. But, from a paſſage in * the third Olynthiac oration of Demoſthenes, compared with one in the † firſt Philippic, it appears, that, immediately upon his recovery, he made an inroad into the territories of the Olynthians; poſſibly in revenge of their late practices at Athens; and might have purſued his hoſtilities ſtill farther, had not the diſorders and commotions in Greece diverted his attention, and, for a while, ſuſpended the final ruin of Olynthus.

* Sect. 6.

† Sect. 7.

THE remains of the Phocian army, which had eſcaped the fury of the victorious Macedonians in the late engagement, retired into Phocis, ſtill obſtinate and undiſmayed; and, ſtill reſolving to purſue the war, choſe Phayllus, the laſt ſurviving brother of Onomarchus, for his ſucceſſor. This chief was actuated by the ſame fatal paſſions as his predeceſſors, equally ambitious, equally vigorous, and equally a contemner of the national religion. Inſtructed by their conduct, he determined to purſue the ſame meaſures: he employed the large fund of wealth which he poſſeſſed, in collecting great numbers of new mercenaries, and in augmenting thoſe ſubſidies which the Phocians had been obliged to pay to ſeveral people; and went in perſon to ſollicit their ſpeedy and effectual aſſiſtance. At Athens he received aſſurances of powerful ſupport. At Sparta, in antient times ſo renowned for a contempt of money, his gold now found an eaſy acceſs. To Denicha, the wife of king Archidamus, the Phocian,

Olymp. 107. Y. 1.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 37.

it

it is ſaid, he particularly applied [B]. Her perſon expreſſed her mean and ſordid mind: and, by gratifying her paſſion for money [C], he was conſiderably aſſiſted in his deſign, and found but little difficulty in gaining a renewal of the alliance, and a promiſe of aſſiſtance. Pauſan. in Lacon.

THE ſubtle and deſigning temper of Archidamus, inceſſantly employed in forming ſchemes for reviving the power of his country, had, at this time, engaged him in a conteſt with his neighbours, which made a ſtrict connexion between him and Phocis ſtill the more neceſſary. He had conceived a plan for reconciling the different intereſts of the Grecian ſtates, in appearance advantageous to the principal members of the great Hellenic body, but, in effect, only calculated to reſtore the ſuperiority of Sparta. He propoſed to re-eſtabliſh the ſeveral cities in the ſame condition as before the late wars. Oliv. L. 6. p. 213.

ATHENS would thus have recovered the city of Oropus, to which they ſtill aſſerted their claim, but which the Thebans kept

[B] SHE was remarkably low in ſtature, and poſſeſſed of none of thoſe graces, for which the Spartan women were in general famous. We learn from Heraclides Lembus, an antient writer, quoted by Athenaeus, (L. 13. p. 566.) that the Ephori impoſed a fine on Archidamus for preferring her to another lady of diſtinguiſhed beauty, but of inferior fortune. The Spartans, who were ever attentive to the conſtitution of their offspring, expreſſed their fears on this occaſion, leſt ſuch a match ſhould produce a diminutive race of kings. Βασιλικους ἀντι Βασιλεων.

[C] ACCORDING to Pauſanias (in Lacon. p. 91.) Archidamus himſelf had no ſmall ſhare of the ſacrilegious ſpoils of the temple. To this circumſtance the author of the Itinerary ſubjoins another more for the honour of this prince. That, at ſome time in the courſe of the ſacred war, when the Phocians had formed a cruel and deſperate reſolution, of putting all the inhabitants of Delphi, who were capable of bearing arms, to the ſword, and ſelling their wives and children for ſlaves; Archidamus prevented the execution of this deſign, and ſaved the Delphians.

in

in their poſſeſſion [D]. Theſpia and Plataea, two eminent cities in Boeotia, that had felt the jealouſy and revenge of Thebes, and now lay ſubverted and depopulated, were, by the ſame plan, to be reſtored and fortified. The Phocians were to give up their two important conqueſts, Orchomenus and Coronea. But theſe, and the other Boeotian cities, were only to acknowledge Thebes as the principal and leading city of Boeotia, without any abſolute ſubmiſſion or dependence, and without obedience to that juriſdiction which the Thebans claimed over them. On the other hand, Meſſene and Megalopolis, the two barriers which Epaminondas had raiſed up againſt Lacedaemon, were to be deſtroyed, and their inhabitants diſperſed. Thus, while the Thebans were to loſe that power, which their late conqueſts had acquired in Boeotia, all the regulations, which the equity of Epaminondas had eſtabliſhed in Peloponneſus, as barriers againſt the Lacedaemonian ambition, were to be totally ſubverted, and the Spartans to be reſtored to a power of reſuming that tyrannical dominion, which they had formerly exerciſed over their neighbours.

Demoſth. pro Megal.

In order to facilitate the execution of this plan, he firſt endeavoured to gain that authority in Peloponneſus to which he aſpired. A diſpute was ſoon raiſed between Sparta and Argos, about the boundaries of their dominions. To Nicoſtratus, an eminent citizen

[D] Thespia was a city of Boeotia, at the foot of mount Helicon. Its inhabitants accounted it an honour to be totally ignorant of all arts, even agriculture not excepted. The Thebans, after their victories over Sparta, to puniſh the pretended diſaffection of the Theſpians, ſacked, and razed their city, without ſparing even the temples.——Plataea was another city of Boeotia, famous for the victory which the Greeks gained there over Mardonius. It had been twice demoliſhed by the Thebans. In the fifth year of the Peloponneſian war, the Spartans blocked it up, and obliged the inhabitants to ſurrender; on which occaſion, the Thebans, who were then united with the Spartans, inſiſted on the demolition of Plataea. The peace of Antalcidas reſtored this city. But the Thebans, three years before the battle of Leuctra, provoked at the refuſal of the Plataeans to join with them againſt Sparta, again reduced it to a ſtate of deſolation.

Tourreil. Not. in Orat. de Pace.

of

of Argos, Archidamus ſecretly applied, and, by many artful and flattering promiſes, endeavoured to prevail upon him to put him in poſſeſſion of one of the gates of the city. But the illuſtrious Argian rejected his offers with indignation. "Is this," ſaid he, "the lan- "guage of a deſcendent from Hercules? he deſtroyed villains, you "would make a villain." The king of Sparta, confounded by this gallant rebuke, reſolved to have recourſe to arms, and, by engaging the ſeveral ſtates of Greece in a new conteſt, increaſed the diſorders and inflamed the commotions of this diſtracted nation; and thereby gave new hopes to the common enemy, the Macedonian, who ſaw, with pleaſure, the commotions in Peloponneſus, and waited for an occaſion of interfering in them with honour and advantage.

Plutarch. in Apophth.

BUT, whatever diſtant hopes Philip might have now conceived from this new diſpute, the ſacred war was deſervedly the more immediate object of his regard. Archidamus had ſent one thouſand Spartans to the aſſiſtance of Phayllus; the Achaeans two thouſand; the contingent of the Athenians was ſtill more conſiderable, for they detached five thouſand foot, and four hundred horſe, under the command of Nauſicles, one of their moſt experienced generals. The tyrants of Theſſaly, lately drove out of that country, without any hopes of a reſtauration, reinforced the Phocian army with two thouſand Theſſalians, who had followed their fortune. Nor did thoſe illuſtrious ſtates, which Phayllus had laboured to gain over, alone engage in this diſpute. Many of the leſs conſiderable communities were inticed by the proſpect of advantage, and joined with no leſs ardor in this odious and unpopular cauſe. And, having thus formed a numerous army, the Phocian chief determined to ſtrike terror into his enemies, by proceeding to immediate action: for this purpoſe, he entered into Boeotia; and, having advanced as far as to Orchomenus, encountered the enemy; but, to mortify his aſpiring hopes, received a ſignal defeat, and was obliged to retire with the loſs of a conſiderable part of his army. But, without allowing his followers time

Diod. Sic. ut ſupra.

for any melancholy reflections, he inſtantly ſought an occaſion of reviving their hopes, and retrieving the honour of his arms. He again marched againſt the Boeotians, and engaged them near the river Cephiſus: but this attempt was ſtill more unſucceſsful: four thouſand of his men were killed; above four hundred fell into the hands of their unrelenting enemy, who remained abſolute maſters of the field of battle. Yet, ſtill undiſmayed, Phayllus renewed the combat in a few days, and, in this weak and unſucceſsful effort, fifty of his Phocians were ſlain, and one hundred and thirty made priſoners.

Sect. 38.

In the mean time Philip, ever ſtudious to derive the full advantage from the opinions and paſſions of other men, was preparing to improve his late ſucceſs. The honours of his victory over Onomarchus were ſtill freſh and blooming: even his enemies admired him; and his partizans were inceſſant in ſounding his praiſes: the minds of the Grecians were inflamed againſt ſacrilege and profanation; and every defeat, which the Phocians received, was induſtriouſly repreſented as a manifeſt indication of the divine diſpleaſure. This Philip, therefore, conceived to be the favourable moment for an attempt to penetrate into the very heart of Greece; there to appear the umpire in all diſputes, and to render his deciſions abſolute and irreſiſtible. He flattered himſelf, that his deſigns muſt be perfectly concealed by the veil of religion and veneration for the gods; he declared his reſolution of entering into Phocis, and executing full vengeance on that profane and obſtinately hardened people; and, with a numerous and formidable army, already provided for the purpoſe, marched towards Thermopylae, thoſe famous ſtreights which commanded the entrance into Greece. The Athenians, too acute and penetrating not to ſee his deſign in its full extent, or to imagine that any motive could really prompt him to this attempt, but that of gaining the abſolute command of Attica and Peloponneſus, were ſtruck with terror and aſtoniſhment at the approach of ſo formidable

Juſtin. L. 8. C. 2.

Demoſth. Philip. 1.

a prince to what they juſtly eſteemed the very borders of their territories, Boeotia alone intervening. They imagined that they already ſaw the powers of Macedon and Thebes united, pouring down and overwhelming their country, and ſpreading like a deſtructive inundation over all Greece. This ſudden and violent impreſſion rouſed them from their indolence. No difficulties were thought of, no ſupplies wanted; the richer citizens, in this preſſing emergency, ſupplied the public amply from their private fortunes; a formidable armament was inſtantly provided at an expence, which plainly demonſtrated the general ſenſe of the impending danger. They ſailed to the ſtreights, poſſeſſed themſelves of all the paſſes, and ſtood prepared to oppoſe the invader.

Demoſth. de falſa Leg. Sect. 29.

THEIR army was now poſted between inacceſſible mountains on one hand, and frightful precipices on the other, which terminated in the ſea. Valour and diſcipline muſt have proved ineffectual againſt ſuch advantage of ſituation, even if it had been conſiſtent with policy to have attempted to force a paſſage. But ſuch an attempt muſt have been too flagrant a declaration of his deſigns againſt a people with whom he was ſtill concerned to keep ſome meaſures; Philip, therefore, choſe to lead his forces back to Macedon, and to load the Athenians with all the odium of the defence of ſacrilege.

THIS unexpected diſappointment irritated the mind of Philip to a degree of acrimony, which plainly diſcovered that his own intereſt and deſigns were much more affected by it, than the cauſe of heaven. His reſentment againſt the Athenians was expreſſed in the bittereſt and boldeſt denunciations of vengeance; and, if we may believe Juſtin, his preſent vexation of mind appeared in ſome actions quite inconſiſtent with his general conduct; in which he ſeldom failed to aſſume the appearance at leaſt of juſtice and lenity, and eſpecially where ſome material point of intereſt was not concerned. But it is

Dem. Phil. 1. Sect. 5.

* L 8. C. 3. asserted by that * historian, that he now turned his arms against those very cities which had been attached and allied to him, which had marched under his command, and congratulated both him and themselves upon his victories; that he ravaged and plundered these cities, and sold the wives and children of the inhabitants for slaves; that, in the places where he had been just received with all the marks of hospitality, he spared neither their temples nor their gods, so as to appear not so much the avenger of sacrilege, as sollicitous to abandon himself to all the excesses of impiety and profanation. Paulus Orosius, who laboured to find out crimes and calamities in profane history, dwells with seeming pleasure on this description of Justin; but neither the vehemence and acrimony of Demosthenes, nor the authentic historical remains of antiquity, have given any particulars of these pretended outrages: neither can they be reconciled to Philip's acknowledged good sense, and his constant attention to his future interest.

THE late precaution of Athens soon became a general topic in Greece, and was variously received and represented from the variety of tempers, opinions, and interests. "How different," did Philip's favourers and partizans now cry out, "was this action of the Athe-
"nians from the glorious effort of Leonidas at the same place!
"That illustrious Spartan marched to Thermopylae to defend the
"Grecian temples from the ravages of the Barbarians; the Athe-
"nians, to defend the ravagers and impious profaners of the Del-
"phian shrine, and to oppose a glorious zeal for the honour of
"Apollo; that divinity, whom they had the vanity to account
"among their ancestors; that divinity, whom they had ever consulted
"in all their difficulties; that divinity, by whose directions they
"had made so many conquests, and had gained such extensive em-
"pire. Before this time, this degenerated people had discovered
"their contempt for all things sacred; we all remember, that,
"when

Justin. L. 8. C. 2.

Meursii Athen. Att. L. 2. 12.
Aristid. Tom. 1. p. 169.
Justin. ut supra.

" when [E] Iphicrates had intercepted ſome ſtatues of gold and ivory " deſtined for the ſervice of the gods by Dionyſius the Sicilian, they " ordered him to ſell them publicly, though dedicated to the Olym- " pian Jupiter and Delphian Apollo: they have now repeated their " impiety; an impiety the more ſhocking, when committed, not by " the ignorant and lawleſs, not by the rude and barbarous, but by " people refined and poliſhed, inſtructed and directed by wiſe and " humane laws and inſtitutions, by the example of their anceſtors, " and the memory of their former virtue."

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 57.

THUS did the honeſt and undeſigning, who were ſenſible of the corruption of Athens, and the creatures of a ſubtle prince, who had received his pay, and were ever ready to eccho his dictates, expreſs their real or pretended ſentiments. On the other hand it was urged, that " the affectation of a zeal for religion, was but too plainly a " pretence to conceal the dangerous deſigns which the extravagant " ambition of the Macedonian had formed. The preſervation of a

[E] DIODORUS relates this tranſaction at large, as an inſtance of the preſent impiety of the Athenians. Iphicrates, a little before the commencement of the ſacred war, had been at anchor with his fleet before the iſland of Corcyra, when the Sicilian veſſels, which were laden with theſe ſtatues, fell in with ſome of his ſhips, and were taken. When the admiral had examined the lading, he ſent to his ſtate to deſire inſtructions how he was to proceed; and received for anſwer, that the affairs of the gods were by no means his concern; that a commander was to confine his attention to the ſupport and maintenance of his forces. Thus encouraged, Iphicrates inſtantly converted the ſtatues into money. Dionyſius, to expreſs his reſentment at this impious outrage, addreſſed a letter to the Athenians, in which he purpoſedly omitted the uſual formulary χαιρειν και ευπραττειν. The letter is preſerved, and was expreſſed in this manner:

" Dionyſius, to the ſenate and people of Athens."

" HAPPINESS I cannot wiſh you " with propriety; as you commit ſacri- " lege againſt the gods, both by ſea and " land. The ſtatues which were ſent by " us, thoſe holy offerings, dedicated to the " divinities, you have ſeized and deſtroyed, " in an open and impious violation of the " reverence due to the greateſt gods, Del- " phian Apollo, and Olympian Jupiter."

" juſt

" juſt ballance of power had been originally the great object of " Athens, in the aſſiſtance which that ſtate granted to the Phocians; " the junction of Macedon and Thebes threatened Greece with " many dangerous conſequences; and commanded all the attention " of the Athenians, who, from the early ages of antiquity, had ever " appeared the patrons and protectors of Grecian liberty, the enemies " of oppreſſion, and the ſcourge of lawleſs and extravagant ambi- " tion. But their own immediate welfare, the very being of their " ſtate, had now called forth their arms, and engaged them to de- " feat the pernicious ſchemes of Macedon. The total ſubverſion of " Athens, and the ſovereignty of Peloponneſus, were the immediate " objects of Philip's views. Caution, vigilance, and vigour, were " ever to be exerted againſt ſo politic and enterprizing a prince; a " prince, who, from an obſcure and contemptible corner of the " world, preſumes to give law to all his neighbours; leads out his " armies, extends his conqueſts, foments diviſions, arms nation " againſt nation; equally the enemy of all, and really attentive only " to the eſtabliſhment of his own greatneſs. Ever ſince the famous " victory at Plataea, no Barbarian had ever preſumed to ſet his foot " in Greece. Philip is equally alien, equally barbarous with the " Perſian, more the object of indignation, and much more to be " dreaded and ſuſpected. The oppoſition, therefore, now made to " his audacious attempt, was dictated by the ſame glorious zeal for " the common cauſe, which animated Leonidas and his Spartans; " and ſhould be received with equal gratitude, and held in equal " honour. The valour of the Athenians had obliged the common " enemy to retire in ſhame and confuſion; and defeated the deſigns " of the man, who, under pretence of ſuccouring the weak, and " puniſhing the guilty, fought only to erect his own power and ſove- " reignty on the ruin of all, friends and enemies, allies and com- " petitors."

Dio-

DIOPHANTUS, who had commanded the Athenian forces on this occaſion, was received, at his return, with the ſame joy and acclamations, as if he had obtained a ſignal victory. Crowns were decreed to him, and prayers and ſacrifices offered up to thank the gods for the deliverance of Athens. Yet, notwithſtanding the retreat of Philip, the impreſſion of their late danger ſtill remained in full force: it was now but too apparent, that indolence and miſconduct, on the part of Athens, had raiſed up an enemy capable of forming and executing the boldeſt deſigns. They ſaw their fatal error in neglecting and deſpiſing a power which ſhould have been cruſhed in its infancy, and were, at times, tempted to believe, that all oppoſition was now too late. They could ſcarcely perſuade themſelves, that Philip had abandoned his enterprize, but were poſſeſſed with the imagination of his appearing every moment at their gates. To guard their territories from invaſions, to defend themſelves againſt the menaces of Philip, which were now reſounded in their ears, both by thoſe who were employed to magnify his power, and by thoſe who inveighed againſt his inſolence, they poſted a conſiderable body of forces, either at the entrance of Attica, or at Thermopylae, (for interpreters are divided in explaining that paſſage in the firſt Philippic oration, which alludes to this tranſaction.) Their former ſollicitude, to prevent his entrance into Greece, makes it more probable that their forces were now ſtationed at the very ſtreights; for it could hardly be conceived, that, if Philip returned, was allowed to paſs through Thermopylae, and to unite with his allies in Boeotia, any body of forces, occaſionally raiſed, and ſtationed ever ſo advantageouſly at the entrance of Attica, could poſſibly bear up againſt ſo formidable an inroad of two ſuch united powers, or prevent them from burſting in, and over-running that country. It is but juſtice, therefore, to the penetration of this people, to believe, that, on this occaſion, they took the moſt effectual precaution. Yet ſtill their corruption appeared in this inſtance of timely zeal and vigour; for, inſtead of intruſting a ſervice of ſuch conſequence to ſome citizen of worth and

Demoſthen. de falſa Leg. Sect. 30.

Demoſ. Phil. 1. Sect. 2.

Phil. 1. Sect. 9.

and character, regularly choſen by the voices of the people, intrigue and cabal were ſuffered to procure the command for Menelaus, an obſcure foreigner. It is indeed hard to think with Tourreil, that this Menelaus was a natural brother to Philip, whom his jealouſy had driven out of Macedon: or that the Athenians would have intruſted their army to one ſo nearly allied to their enemy. The conjecture of Lucceſini ſeems better founded, that he was ſome Phocian officer, who might have been recommended on this occaſion, as from his knowledge of the country, where the forces were to be ſtationed, he might be ſuppoſed capable of poſting them to the beſt advantage, and, from his intereſt there, might gain them proviſions with greater eaſe and readineſs.

Not. in Phil. 1.

HAVING thus provided for the defence of their territories, their next care was to convene an aſſembly to deliberate on the means of correcting paſt errors, and controuling the ambitious ſchemes of their formidable rival. This was but reſuming a ſubject, which had frequently engaged their attention. Every inſtance of ill ſucceſs abroad, every motion and tranſaction of their enemies, never failed to raiſe a ferment in the Athenian aſſembly, where the pride of that people was flattered by the thought, that, thus convened, they decided the fate of ſtates and nations, of enemies and allies, and where their orators acknowledged, and ſervilely ſtooped to, the ſovereign authority of the people; and either by condemning and inveighing againſt the conduct of thoſe to whom their affairs were intruſted, or by defending the public meaſures, afforded them perpetual ſubjects of conteſt and debate; and frequently acquired an intereſt, which no ſuſpicions of their want of integrity, and ſometimes even avowed corruption, could not ſhake. At preſent they aſſembled with leſs pride, and leſs paſſion, than they had on ſome occaſions diſcovered: inſtead of indignation at the conduct of Philip, they felt terror and diſmay: inſtead of hearing their greatneſs, and glory, and power, reſounded

reſounded by their flattering leaders, they now found a counſellor in Demoſthenes, who had courage to oppoſe their prejudices, and to diſplay their errors and miſconduct; and integrity and prudence to point out the meaſures neceſſary for their defence and ſecurity. This renowned orator now roſe up, for the firſt time, againſt the Macedonian; and diſplayed thoſe abilities, which, through the whole courſe of Philip's reign, proved the greateſt obſtacle to his deſigns.

IN the oration which he delivered on this occaſion, and which is ſtill extant among the invaluable remains of this illuſtrious Athenian, we find him introducing his ſentiments with an apology for that zeal which prompted him (now but twenty-nine years old) to appear the foremoſt in the cauſe of his country, without regard to the precedence uſually granted to the elder ſpeakers. They had frequently been heard upon the preſent ſubject, and the inſufficiency of their counſels plainly appeared from this ſingle circumſtance, that it was a ſubject which the people now found themſelves obliged to reſume. The preſent melancholy ſtate of their affairs he imputes not to any want of power and abilities, but to ſupineneſs and inaction; and, from this cauſe of their diſtreſs, derives fair hopes and proſpects of future fortune. He reminds them of their glorious and ſucceſsful efforts to reduce the power, and curb the inſolence, of Lacedaemon; and to regain that ſovereignty which they had loſt by the victory of Lyſander.

Phil. 1. Sect. 1.

Sect. 2.

"IF there is a man in this aſſembly" (thus doth he continue his ſpirited addreſs) "who thinks that we muſt find a formidable enemy "in Philip, while he views, on one hand, the numerous armies which "ſurround him; and, on the other, the weakneſs of the ſtate thus "deſpoiled of its dominions: he thinks juſtly. Yet let him reflect "on this: there was a time, Athenians! when we poſſeſſed Pydna,

" and Potidaea, and Methonè, and all that country round: when
" many of thoſe ſtates, now ſubjected to him, were free and inde-
" pendent, and more inclined to our alliance than to his. Had then
" Philip reaſoned in the ſame manner, "' How ſhall I dare to attack
"' the Athenians, whoſe garriſons command my territory, while I
"' am deſtitute of all aſſiſtance!'" " He would not have engaged
" in thoſe enterprizes, which are now crowned with ſucceſs; nor
" could he have raiſed himſelf to this pitch of greatneſs. No,
" Athenians! he knew this well, that all thoſe places are but prizes,
" laid between the combatants, and ready for the conqueror: that the
" dominions of the abſent naturally devolve to thoſe who are in the
" field; the poſſeſſions of the ſupine to the active and intrepid. Ani-
" mated by theſe ſentiments, he overturns whole nations; he holds
" all people in ſubjection: ſome, as by right of conqueſt: others,
" under the title of allies and confederates: for all are willing to
" confederate with thoſe whom they ſee prepared and reſolved to
" exert themſelves as they ought.

" And if you (my countrymen) will now, at length, be per-
" ſuaded to entertain the like ſentiments; if each of you, re-
" nouncing all evaſions, will be ready to approve himſelf an uſeful
" citizen, to the utmoſt that his ſtation and abilities demand: if the
" rich will be ready to contribute, and the young to take the field:
" in a word, if you will be yourſelves; and baniſh thoſe vain
" hopes, which every ſingle perſon entertains, that, while ſo many
" others are engaged in public buſineſs, his ſervice will not be re-
" quired; you then (if heaven ſo pleaſes) will regain your domi-
" nions, recall thoſe opportunities your ſupineneſs hath neglected,
" and chaſtiſe the inſolence of this man. For you are not to imagine,
" that, like a god, he is to enjoy his preſent greatneſs for ever, fixed
" and unchangeable. No, Athenians! there are who hate him, who
" fear him, who envy him, even among thoſe ſeemingly the moſt

" attached

" attached to his cauſe. Theſe are paſſions common to mankind; nor
" muſt we think that his friends only are exempted from them. It is
" true, they lie concealed at preſent, as our indolence deprives them
" of all reſource. But let us ſhake off this indolence! for you ſee
" how we are ſituated; you ſee the outrageous arrogance of this
" man, who does not leave it to your choice, whether you ſhall act,
" or remain quiet; but braves you with his menaces; and talks
" (as we are informed) in a ſtrain of the higheſt extravagance: and
" is not able to reſt ſatisfied with his preſent acquiſitions, but is ever
" in purſuit of farther conqueſts; and, while we ſit down, inactive
" and irreſolute, incloſes us on all ſides with his toils.

" WHEN therefore, O my countrymen! when will you exert
" your vigour? when rouſed by ſome event? when forced by ſome
" neceſſity? what then are we to think of our preſent condition?
" to freemen, the diſgrace attending on miſconduct is, in my opi-
" nion, the moſt urgent neceſſity. Or, ſay, is it your ſole ambition
" to wander through the public places, each enquiring of the other,
"" what new advices?"" " can any thing be more new than that a
" man of Macedon ſhould conquer the Athenians, and give law to
" Greece?"—"" Is Philip dead?""—"" No, but in great danger.""—
" How are you concerned in thoſe rumours? ſuppoſe he ſhould
" meet ſome fatal ſtroke: you would ſoon raiſe up another Philip,
" if your intereſts are thus regarded. For it is not to his own
" ſtrength that he ſo much owes his elevation, as to our ſupineneſs.
" And, ſhould ſome accident affect him; ſhould fortune, who hath
" ever been more careful of the ſtate than we ourſelves, now repeat
" her favours, (and may ſhe thus crown them!) be aſſured of this,
" that, by being on the ſpot, ready to take advantage of the confu-
" ſion, you will every-where be abſolute maſters: but, in your pre-
" ſent diſpoſition, even if a favourable juncture ſhould preſent you

" with Amphipolis, you could not take poſſeſſion of it, while this " ſuſpence prevails in your deſigns and in your councils."

FROM theſe bold and animated expoſtulations, he proceeds to lay down a plan of operation. Their force, he obſerves, was not ſufficient to meet Philip in the field; they were to be guarded againſt his excurſions; and, by depredations on the coaſt of Macedon, to confine his attention to the ſecurity of his own kingdom. For this he recommends to them to prepare fifty ſhips of war, with tranſports and other neceſſary veſſels for a body of horſe: ten light veſſels for a convoy, two thouſand infantry, and five hundred cavalry, of which number five hundred foot and, fifty horſe, to be citizens of Athens. He then computes the ſupplies neceſſary for this force, and propoſes a ſcheme in form for raiſing them.

IT doth not appear, that the ſpirit which animated this harangue, and the accurate knowledge of the intereſts of Athens, which the great ſpeaker diſplayed, had that effect which might naturally have been expected from them. The people ſeem to have attended with pleaſure and applauſe, without duly weighing the force of his remonſtrances, or the wiſdom of his counſels. Probably, the aſſiſtance they had already ſent to Phocis, rendered them averſe to new expences and new armaments; and, probably, Philip had his agents and partizans in the aſſembly, who, ever attentive to the ſervice of a maſter by whom they were magnificently paid, recommended leſs vigorous meaſures, under various plauſible pretences; which had but too much weight, as they flattered the indolence and unſurmountable averſion to public cares, which were ever predominant at Athens, notwithſtanding any temporary interruptions and tranſient fits of zeal. The diſpoſitions, the prejudices, the errors, and the corruptions of this people, were ever watched by Philip with the moſt attentive regard: while they were amuſed and deceived, his reſtleſs

mind

mind was ſecretly employed in meditating his revenge: the late ſudden effort of their zeal was juſt ſufficient to convince him, that they were to be regarded as his principal rivals, and that nothing but their oppoſition could raiſe up any material obſtacles to thoſe ſchemes, which his ambition, inlivened by ſucceſs, was daily forming and extending: and the general weakneſs of their conduct encouraged him to hope that this oppoſition would, in the end, prove ineffectual; and that art and reſolution would render him ſuperior to their power.

BOOK

BOOK II. SECTION III.

CONTENTS.

HISTORY of the ſacred war continued.—The death of Phayllus.—He is ſucceeded by Phaleucus.—Actions of this general.—Commotions in Peloponneſus.—The Argians and Megalopolitans aſſiſted by the Thebans, Eleans, &c.—Letter of Archidamus to the Eleans.—The Spartans ſupported by Phocis.—Orneum taken.—Thebans defeated.—Their confederates retire.—Oration of Demoſthenes for the Megalopolitans.—Action near Telphuſa.—A truce granted to Megalopolis.—Probable reaſons for this truce.—Philip's expectations from the diſorders of Peloponneſus.—The continuance of the Phocian war highly agreeable to his views.—The Thebans exhauſted.—Apply to the king of Perſia.—Philip's attention to the affairs of Greece.—His influence in all popular aſſemblies.—Juſtin's account of his expedition into Cappadocia.—Difficulties attending this account.—Philip reſides for ſome time in Macedon.—His buildings.—He borrows money from the men of affluence in Greece.—This conduct explained. — New commotions in Theſſaly. — Quieted by Philip's arms and policy.—The elegance and magnificence of Philip's court.—He encourages men of genius.—Affords an aſylum to unfortunate

princes

princes and nobles.—His behaviour to his ſubjects.—His adminiſtration of juſtice.—His gaiety and feſtivity.—His companions.—Cliſophus.—Menecrates.—The account of Theopompus examined.—Philip raiſes diſorders in the iſland of Euboea.—Sends in his forces.—Plutarch's application to Athens.—Is oppoſed by Demoſthenes.—The violence of the Athenians.—Character of Phocion.—He ſails to Euboea.—Is diſtreſſed.—Gains a victory over Callias.—Drives out Plutarch.—Returns in triumph to Athens.

BOOK

BOOK the SECOND

SECTION III.

THE ſacred war ſtill continued to rage in Greece, to harraſs and weaken the contending parties, and to prepare the way for the power of Macedon. Phayllus, the Phocian general, having been driven out of Boeotia by repeated defeats, led his forces into the territories of the Locrians, ſurnamed Epicnemidii, and there poſſeſſed himſelf of ſeveral cities. At Aryca, a town of conſiderable note in this diſtrict, he firſt found his progreſs checked; and, as his arms could not readily ſubdue it, he entered into a ſecret conference with ſome traitors within the walls, who prevented the delay and danger of a formal ſiege, by betraying the town to the Phocians. Here he left a ſmall garriſon, leſt he might too far weaken the main body of his army, and marched back to Phocis; when the Locrians, by means of ſome private intelligence, ſurprized the town which they had ſo lately loſt, and put the Phocian garriſon to the ſword. The news of this event determined Phayllus to enter once more into Locris, where he again inveſted Aryca with a conſiderable body, and led the reſt of his army againſt Abae, a city of eminence in Phocis, where there was an antient and ſplendid temple of Apollo, in which the god delivered his oracles; whoſe inhabitants had for

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 38.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 58. Herod. Urania. Cap. 134.

ages paid, and ſtill continued to pay him peculiar honours; and, from their veneration to the divinity, had refuſed to join with Phayllus and his Phocians in their irreligious attempts.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 38.

THE Boeotians thought themſelves obliged to ſuccour this place; and, marching with incredible diligence and expedition, fell by night upon the camp of Phayllus, defeated the Phocians with conſiderable ſlaughter, and, having ravaged and laid waſte their territories with an uncontrouled fury, elevated by their ſucceſs, and laden with booty, they returned into Locris to raiſe the ſiege of Aryca. But Phayllus, whom they fondly ſuppoſed to have been ruined beyond all recovery, inſtantly rallied and collected his forces; and, when the victorious army arrived at the town, they were ſurprized and mortified, by finding, that he had already joined the beſiegers; and was ſo well prepared to give them battle, that, before they could be regularly formed in compleat order, he fell furiouſly upon them; and, having gained a compleat victory, took the city of Aryca, and razed it to the ground.

THIS was the laſt military exploit of Phayllus, and the only one in which his arms had been crowned with victory. In ſome ſhort time after, he was attacked by a conſumption, which abſolutely prevented him from action. He ſtruggled for ſome time with his diſorder, but, at length, was obliged to yield to the violence of it; and died in ſuch excruciating torments, as made his death to be regarded by the religious, as the manifeſt judgment of heaven. [A] He named

Ibid.

[A] THE heathen hiſtorians, who all expreſs a ſerious regard to their religion, and a deep ſenſe of the veneration due to the national worſhip, ſpeak of all the events of this war, and all the calamities of the Phocians, in that manner. Pauſanias (L. 10. p. 318.) makes Phayllus have ſufficient warning of this his miſerable end in a dream. Among the ſacred offerings of the temple was an artificial ſkeleton of braſs, ſaid to have been depoſited by Hippocrates the phyſician. The chief is ſaid to have dreamed, immediately upon entering on his command, that his body was become exactly like to this figure.

Phaleucus,

Phaleucus, the ſon of Onomarchus, for his ſucceſſor, with directions, that, in conſideration of his youth and inexperience, Mnaſeas ſhould be appointed his coadjutor, an antient friend of the family, a man well verſed in arms, and in every reſpect capable of forming a great general. In ſome time after, the Boeotians, as if reſolved to make a trial of this new general and his director, took advantage of the night, and fell on the Phocian camp with ſo much fury, that the whole army was thrown into the utmoſt diſorder. Mnaſeas, who exerted himſelf with due vigour to repel this unexpected attack, fell in the engagement, together with two hundred of the Phocians; and thus the young Phaleucus loſt all the advantage of his counſels. This chief, now left to his own guidance, ſoon felt the fatal conſequences of a precipitate valour. With all his cavalry he marched againſt that of the enemy, and came to an engagement before the city of Chaeronea, where he received a total overthrow, after a bloody and obſtinate conteſt, in which a conſiderable number of his troops were ſlain.

And now, while Thebes and Phocis were purſuing each other with ſuch unrelenting fury, efforts were made by each in favour of their allies. The hoſtile intentions of Archidamus had been ſufficiently declared againſt the Argians, whoſe independent condition he beheld with impatience and indignation; and againſt the Megalopolitans, whoſe ſettlement he conſidered as the diſgrace of his country, and the odious memorial of the triumphs of Epaminondas. The Thebans, on their part, were bound in honour to ſupport the eſtabliſhments of their illuſtrious general; and had, therefore, diſpatched four thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, under the command of their general Cephiſion, to the aſſiſtance of the Megalopolitans and Argians. Encouraged by this ſupport, the Megalopolitans took the field, and pitched their camp near the ſources of the Alpheus, ſo as to cover their city and territories: and here they received additional reinforcements from the Eleans, Meſſenians, and

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 39.

Pauſan. in Eliac. Sicyonians. The Eleans had no great military reputation, and were, at this time particularly, weakened by inteſtine diſorders; which made Archidamus expreſs his contempt of their preparations in the following Laconic letter:

Plut. Apoph. "Archidamus to the Eleans."

"Peace is a valuable thing. Farewell."

THE Spartans, on their part, were aſſiſted by the Phocians, who, for this purpoſe, detached three thouſand foot, and one hundred and fifty of the famous cavalry of Theſſaly, who had followed Pitholaüs: ſome of their Peloponneſian allies alſo united with them: and Archidamus took his ſtation near Mantinea, in the preſence of the enemy; the vicinity of the two armies made a general engagement to be regarded as inevitable; when Archidamus ſuddenly decamped, entered the territories of Argos, and ſeized the town of Orneum, which had engaged in an alliance with Megalopolis. The Argians were the firſt to oppoſe this attempt, but were ſoon defeated, with the loſs of about two hundred men. The Thebans followed, and renewed the engagement, in full reliance on the ſuperiority of their numbers; but the exacter order and diſcipline of the Spartan army ſupplied the deficiency of their force: the conflict was maintained with equal ardor on each ſide, till night put an end to it, and left the victory undecided; when the Argians, who had now experienced, and ſeem to have dreaded, the vigour of Archidamus, retired, and the reſt of the allies alſo marched back to their particular cities. The Lacedaemonians, thus left maſters of the field, made an inroad into Arcadia, where they ſtormed and plundered the city of Heliſſon, and then returned in triumph into Sparta.

Diod. L. 16. Sect. 39.

IN this ſhort reſpite from war, Olivier aſſerts, that we muſt neceſſarily fix the ambaſſy of the Megalopolitans and Spartans to Athens,

Athens, where each of theſe ſtates pleaded their cauſe before the aſſembly, the one to gain aſſiſtance, the other to perſuade the Athenians to continue neuter: on which occaſion Demoſthenes appeared the advocate for Megalopolis. Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus dates his oration for the Megalopolitans ſome what earlier; and an attentive peruſal of the oration itſelf may poſſibly ſuggeſt ſome arguments to confirm us in the deference due to the accuracy of that critic. From its general tenor, it appears, that the application of the Arcadians was really made, at the firſt beginning of this quarrel, while the Lacedaemonians were as yet but preparing to attack them. But the learned reader may think the preciſe time, in which the oration was delivered, a matter not ſo worthy his attention, as the artifice, the delicacy, the inſinuating addreſs, the exact knowledge of the intereſts of Athens, of the diſpoſitions, opinions, paſſions, and deſigns of the leading ſtates, the penetration and extenſive policy, and all the qualifications neceſſary for an accompliſhed ſtateſman, which are eminently diſplayed in the oration itſelf. Yet we muſt conclude, that his eloquence and abilities were unſucceſsful, as Diodorus does not mention the Athenians among the people who ſent ſuccours to the Megalopolitans on this occaſion.

In Epiſtola ad Ammae.

THE hoſtilities, on each ſide, were now continued for ſome time longer. The allies, as hath been obſerved, retired from the ſcene of action: and the Thebans, in their retreat, met with a party of the Lacedaemonians, near the river Telphuſa, commanded by Anaxander; and, after an engagement ſufficiently obſtinate and bloody, took the general priſoner, together with ſixty of his ſoldiers. This ſucceſs determined them not to haſten their march: they again attacked two different detached parties of the enemy with repeated ſucceſs; but in a more general engagement, which theſe ſkirmiſhes produced, the Lacedaemonians gained a victory, which put an end to the campaign. And, a truce being now concluded between Sparta and Megalopolis, the Thebans had no opportunity of retrieving their late

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 39.

late diſgrace, but retired into Boeotia with the remains of their army.

HISTORY doth not aſſign any cauſe for this appearance of moderation in the Spartans, in granting a truce to a diſtreſſed enemy, deſerted by their allies, and weakened by the taking of Heliſſon. The French hiſtorian conjectures, that they might have been determined to this by the arrival of ſome ſuccours from Athens, in favour of Megalopolis. But, as to any ſuch ſuccours, hiſtory is ſilent; and, if it be allowed to indulge conjectures, his apprehenſions of Philip may, not without reaſon, be ſuppoſed to have influenced the king of Sparta on this occaſion. The Macedonian Prince's early connexions with Epaminondas, gave him a plauſible pretence of interfering to ſupport the eſtabliſhments of that renowned commander: and we ſhall find, in the courſe of this narration, that, in a little time after this, Philip had acquired conſiderable intereſt among the enemies of the Spartan power in Peloponneſus. * Demoſthenes aſſerts, in his oration on the Crown, that, from the time when theſe commotions firſt broke out in that country, he had a particular attention to them, and took care to gain over a number of partizans in every city, who were employed to keep up and to foment all diſorders. He was concerned, ſaith * Olivier, more particularly than any other, to prevent the execution of that plan which Archidamus had formed. It would have deprived him of ſome maritime towns, which he had gained in Thrace; the cities which he poſſeſſed in Theſſaly muſt have been given up; and his connexions there intirely broken. The Olynthians, whoſe ruin he now meditated, and who, on their part, hated and ſuſpected him, muſt have recovered thoſe places in their diſtrict which Lacedaemon had kept poſſeſſion of ſince the late war with Olynthus, or had rendered independent. It might therefore have been naturally urged by his creatures and agents in Argos and Arcadia, that the moſt effectual method to curb the pride and inſolence of Sparta, was to ſeek the aſſiſtance

Olivier L. 6. p. 236.

* Sect. 7.

* ut ſupra.

assistance and protection of the king of Macedon. To defeat a design of this nature, from which Archidamus might have foreseen very momentous consequences, it was obvious to amuse those people by a truce, and the hopes of a future accommodation of all differences. Philip, on his part, though exceedingly desirous of interfering in these disputes, could not think it necessary to prevent the present suspension of them. Archidamus, he knew, however he might dissemble at present, would not willingly resign his scheme. The different powers would act with vigour sufficient to prevent the execution of some part of it; but, as every one of them had some favourite articles in this scheme, which they were desirous of preserving, it was not possible they could act in concert: the contending parties would mutually weaken each other; and the Arcadians, and other enemies of Sparta, at last find themselves obliged to have recourse to Macedon. Some fortunate event might hereafter open him a passage into Peloponnesus, where his arms and policy could not fail to decide their quarrels, and make him equally the master of all the contending parties, while he only affected a tender concern for the oppressed, and an honourable zeal for defending the establishments of Epaminondas.

Nor was it less consistent with his views, to suffer the sacred war to waste and harrass the several combatants; particularly, as the late opposition of the Athenians, prevented any impeachment of the sincerity of his zeal for religion. The Thebans, when the truce granted to Megalopolis obliged them to return into Boeotia, found that country wasted by the Phocians. Phaleucus, their chief, had just reduced the city of Chaeronea, when the Thebans came opportunely to drive him from his conquest, and to revenge the depredations he had made in their territories, by an inroad into Phocis: here the whole country was exposed to their fury: they ravaged and laid waste the lands, the houses, the possessions of the wretched Phocians; and, having taken and plundered some cities of less

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 39.

leſs note, returned into their own country, laden with the ſpoils of the enemy. All this variety of fortune ſerved effectually to weaken the contending parties. The Phocians, quite exhauſted by their loſſes in the field, as well as by their conqueſts in Boeotia, where they were obliged to maintain numerous garriſons, appeared ready to ſink under the attack of the firſt powerful enemy who ſhould declare againſt them. The Thebans, equally exhauſted, ſaw ſome of their moſt conſiderable cities in the hands of an enemy, whom they were unable to diſpoſſeſs; and who, on their part, were obliged to exert all their efforts to maintain theſe poſts. Military perſons were, at the ſame time, allured from every part of Greece, by large pay, and the fair proſpects of advantage, to ſhed their blood in the ſervice of Phocis. And thus this fatal conteſt not only ſerved to harraſs thoſe who were immediately engaged in it, but proved the means of draining away, and gradually conſuming, the natural ſtrength of every Grecian ſtate. No wonder, therefore, that Philip did not appear extremely ſollicitous to put an immediate end to this war. His deſigns were, by this time, become great and extenſive; he had penetration and ſagacity to ſee through theſe incidents and tranſactions which might facilitate them; and temper and reſolution to wait, with patience, the favourable moment for carrying them into execution.

Diod.Sic. Lib. 16. Sect 40.

It was not the leaſt part of the diſtreſs which the Thebans now experienced, that their finances were intirely exhauſted, by the expence of conſtant armaments. To the king of Perſia, therefore, they applied; and, by their ambaſſadors, intreated this prince, by whoſe opulence the Greeks were on many occaſions obliged, to relieve their preſent neceſſities by a ſum of money. Artaxerxes Ochus, who now reigned in Perſia, was, at this time, meditating an expedition againſt Egypt, where he had, ſome time ſince, fought with ill ſucceſs: and had ſent to the leading powers of Greece to deſire aſſiſtance. The Athenians and Spartans declared their reſolution

Sect. 44.

of

of adhering to the intereſts of Perſia, but, at the ſame time, pleaded their inability to ſend any troops [B]. The Argians, on the other hand, ſupplied the great king with three thouſand men, commanded

[B] THEY had already ſent out Phocion, with ſome ſhips, to the aſſiſtance of Hidriaeus, king of Caria, who was endeavouring to oblige Cyprus to return to its obedience to the king of Perſia. Hidriaeus was the ſucceſſor of Artemiſia, ſo famous on account of her grief for the death of her huſband. Poſſibly this reputation had no other foundation than in the imaginations of thoſe men of genius who diſputed the prize in the games, which ſhe exhibited in honour of Mauſolus. This Mauſolus was a weak prince, governed intirely by his wife; to whom the ambaſſadors of foreign ſtates were always privately inſtructed to addreſs themſelves. It was ſhe who had been the means of kindling up the ſocial war: nor did ſhe, after her huſband's death, appear to act as a widow totally inconſolable, and regardleſs of the world. Vitruvius hath preſerved the memory of a ſtratagem which ſhe employed to poſſeſs herſelf of Rhodes. The Rhodians held a private intelligence in the city of Halicarnaſſus, the capital of Caria; and hoped that the inhabitants would willingly unite with them, in order to ſhake off the yoke of a woman. In theſe expectations they ſent a fleet thither. But Artemiſia, having diſcovered the plot, ordered the inhabitants to range themſelves under their walls, and to receive the Rhodians as their expected deliverers. Deceived by this appearance, the Rhodians landed, and left their ſhips deſerted: they were ſurrounded and cut to pieces. Artemiſia, who had ordered her gallies to ſail down ſome canals which communicated with the port, and to ſeize their ſhips, now ſet ſail in the Rhodian fleet, and appeared before their city. It was ſuppoſed by the people of Rhodes, that their own army was returned victorious from Caria. The Carians were maſters of their city before the fatal miſtake was perceived: where Artemiſia changed the form of government, from a democratical, to that of an oligarchy. This produced an application to the Athenians from the people of Rhodes, in order to engage that ſtate to reſtore their antient government. The cauſes of complaint, which they had given to the Athenians in the courſe of the ſocial war, it was hoped, would not be remembered; or, at leaſt, would not prevent the Athenians from embracing the honourable occaſion of re-eſtabliſhing a government of the ſame form with their own. Demoſthenes pleaded the cauſe of Rhodes, in the oration on this ſubject, which is ſtill extant among his remains. He begins with felicitating his countrymen, that their enemies were now obliged to implore their aſſiſtance againſt thoſe who had engaged them to declare againſt Athens. He freely acknowledges the miſconduct of the Rhodians, and confeſſes that they are themſelves unworthy of that protection which they are imploring; but, at the ſame time, addreſſes himſelf intirely to the generoſity

of

by Nicoſtratus, a general equally eminent for his vigour and abilities; though his great qualities were, in ſome ſort, diſgraced by a wild and whimſical affectation of imitating the garb and manners of Hercules, and appearing in the field armed with his club, and cloathed in his lion's hide. The Thebans alſo detached one thouſand of their infantry, under the command of Lacrates, one of their generals; and the Perſian, in return for this ſervice, granted their preſent requeſt, and immediately ſupplied them with three hundred talents. Yet this could not inable them to gain any material advantage over Phocis. A whole year was waſted in mutual incurſions and depredations, or, at moſt, ſome ſlight actions, which hiſtory hath not thought worthy of being particularly recorded.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 40.

DURING this interval, Philip was ſeated in his own kingdom, watching the ſeveral commotions which raged all around him; ſtrictly obſervant of the errors and diſtreſſes of every ſtate and government,

of his countrymen, which hitherto had ever proved the great reſource of the diſtreſſed, without regard to their deſerts. He expreſſes a greater dependence on the miſfortunes of the Rhodians, than on their gratitude; and, to give the greater elevation to the ſentiments of his hearers, artfully mixes with his reflexions the praiſes of Athens, and urges the advantages which this ſtate muſt derive from increaſing the number of democracies. He labours to diſſipate any apprehenſions from Caria or Perſia, which might prevent the Athenians from acting, on this occaſion, agreeably to the dictates of generoſity; and concludes with recommending the noble conduct of their anceſtors to their preſent imitation. There is one particular ſtroke in the oration with reſpect to Philip, which deſerves a place here:—"Some of you, I find," ſaith the orator, "treat Philip with diſ-"regard, as if beneath their attention; "and yet expreſs the greateſt apprehen-"ſions of the KING, as an enemy who "muſt prove highly dangerous to thoſe "who may be the objects of his reſent-"ment. If then we are never to oppoſe "the one, becauſe he is weak; and if we "are to ſubmit, in every inſtance, to the "other, becauſe he is formidable; againſt "whom, ye Athenians, ſhall we ever draw "the ſword?"

THESE particulars, which I have contented myſelf with tranſlating from Olivier, and which he hath inſerted in the body of his hiſtory, I thought might, with greater propriety, be preſented to the reader in the form of a note.

vernment, concerting his designs, and preparing for new conquests. His forces, and particularly his marine, were constantly receiving some accession or improvement; and new creatures were every day, and in every community, by the power of gold, gained over to his interest, whose business it was to raise confusion and disorder, to inflame all contests and animosities, to magnify, or depreciate, the power of their master, to represent him as formidable or weak, just as his service required them to inspire terror or security; to misguide public councils, to betray public trusts, and to practise all the infamous arts of men, attentive only to gratify a sordid luxury or avarice, and regardless of the most sacred duties of civil life.

Demosth. Phil. 1. Sect. 2.

De Corona Sect. 7. & alibi passim.

About this time, if we may depend on the copies of the abbreviator of Trogus, Philip made an excursion into Asia, where he reduced the whole province of Cappadocia to the power of Macedon, having first treacherously seized and put to death some neighbouring kings. We find, saith * Olivier, that Theopompus particularly and largely described this province, which seems to imply, that Philip, whose actions he related, must have had some intercourse with Cappadocia, or that it was the scene of some of these his actions. But whether those, whom Justin calls the neighbouring kings, were satraps who had revolted from the king of Persia, or governors of a part of Pontus, who supported themselves independent of that monarch, is left intirely to uncertain conjecture. As the records of antiquity have not preserved the least traces or circumstances of an expedition so remarkable as this must have been, the learned have been induced to suppose, that the copies of Justin are corrupted; and, instead of Cappadociam, we should read Chalcidem, or Chalcidicam. If so, the corruption must have been very early; for we find Paulus Orosius copying after the common reading. And although such an amendment, by supposing Justin to refer to his attempts on Euboea, or his war against the Olynthians (of which we shall have immediately occasion to speak) at once removes the

Just. L. 8. C. 3.

* Liv. 7. p. 268.

Faber, Tourreil, Olivier.

difficulty which ariſes from the ſilence of other writers; yet another difficulty remains which might have deſervedly been conſidered by thoſe who ſuggeſted or adopted this amendment; and that is, that neither in the territories of Olynthus, nor yet in Euboea, can we find thoſe finitimos reges, whom Philip treated with ſo much cruelty and treachery. If we ſuppoſe firſt, that Juſtin is relating his invaſion of the Olynthian territories, and his reduction of the Chalcidian region; then, by thoſe neighbouring kings, we muſt underſtand the kings of Thrace. But Philip's conduct to thoſe princes, whatever it was, does not appear to have been at all connected with this expedition; to have at all contributed (directly) to its ſucceſs, or even to agree with it in point of time. And as to Euboea, though Chalcis, and its other cities, had their diſtinct governors and petty tyrants, yet we ſhall find the power, which Philip gained in theſe cities, was by no means purchaſed by the blood of theſe governors. But, without farther anticipating this hiſtory, let us leave theſe matters in their original obſcurity, and return to this prince's conduct in his own kingdom, where we may pronounce, with more certainty, that he reſided for ſome time, waiting for the effects of his ſecret machinations, and revolving his ſchemes of greatneſs.

ARTS and elegance were but little known or cultivated in Macedon before the reign of Philip, when the poverty, the weakneſs, and barbarouſneſs of that country, confined the attention of its princes and inhabitants to the bare neceſſaries for their ſubſiſtence and ſecurity. But Philip had taſte, and now poſſeſſed riches to adorn and poliſh his kingdom; nor did he want the due attention both to its ſtrength and ſplendor. Able architects, and ſkilful engineers, were invited to embelliſh, and to fortify, the ſeveral parts of Macedon. Temples, palaces, theatres, now began to riſe in all his cities; and, as artifice and policy had ever ſome ſhare in all parts of this prince's conduct, under pretence of being the better inabled to erect theſe coſtly edifices, he had recourſe to a ſcheme with which later ages

Juſt. L. 8. C. 3.

have

have been well acquainted. His emiſſaries were diſpatched through all Greece, where they ſollicited the men of affluence in every ſtate, and, by promiſes of large returns of intereſt, engaged them to lend their money to the king of Macedon. Numbers were found, whoſe avaricious expectations, or whoſe vanity in obliging a prince who condeſcended to requeſt their aſſiſtance, prompted them to empty all their hoards of wealth into the coffers of Philip. And, if we may believe Juſtin, the expectations of theſe unwary men were fatally diſappointed, and they themſelves reduced to beggary and ruin. He aſſerts, that neither their intereſt nor principal were ever paid; but that, when theſe proprietors came to Macedon to ſollicit their ſeveral demands, after many delays, they were at length threatened with the royal diſpleaſure, and obliged to retire. It cannot reaſonably be ſuppoſed, that this premeditated breach of truſt ſhould have eſcaped the notice of Demoſthenes, who repreſented all Philip's actions in the worſt and ſtrongeſt light. Yet we find him quite ſilent on a ſubject, which muſt have afforded ſuch an ample field for his ſeverity. It ſeems therefore more reaſonable to attend to thoſe who repreſent the preſent ſchemes of Philip, as partly intended to conceal thoſe penſions which the intereſt of his affairs required him to diſtribute. Theſe were received by numbers in every public aſſembly; and it was more honourable, both for him who gave, and for thoſe who accepted them, to diſguiſe theſe penſions under the name of debts. They to whom he gave his own money, and they to whom he paid high intereſt for the ſums he borrowed, were indeed equally obliged, and, of neceſſity, equally attached to him; the one for fear of loſing his pay; the others to ſecure that property which they had depoſited in his hands. Beſides, the fair pretence of tranſacting buſineſs, and taking care of their private affairs, inabled his partizans to appear at any time in Macedon, and to concert their ſecret practices without ſuſpicion; as we may hereafter have occaſion to obſerve.

Juſt. L. 8. C. 3.

Olivier L. 7. p. 250.

But

Olymp. 107. Y. 4.

Dem. Olyn. 3. Sect. 8.

Olyn. 1. Sect. 6.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 52.

Olyn. 3. Sect. 3.

BUT the attention of this prince was, for ſome time, diverted by new commotions, which began to riſe in Theſſaly. Here the fickle inhabitants became impatient for new revolutions. They complained, that Philip had but expelled their former tyrants to eſtabliſh himſelf in their place: they actually oppoſed him in an attempt to fortify Magneſia, and clamoured loudly for the reſtitution of that city, and of Pagaſae, where he ſtill maintained his garriſons. Their ports and harbours, they cried, were only made ſubſervient to the intereſts of Macedon, inſtead of inriching the natural and original proprietors; and urged the neceſſity of confining thoſe advantages to themſelves, and excluding thoſe, who, whatever their pretence had been, really appeared indifferent to the intereſts of Theſſaly; and, notwithſtanding their pretended zeal, ſuffered the Phocians to harraſs them and the other confederates, without that vigorous interpoſition which they had been made to expect. Pitholaüs, encouraged by theſe the diſpoſitions of his countrymen, and aided by Phocis, once more appeared at Pherae, and aſſerted his antient title. Philip was equally concerned to regain the affections of the Theſſalians, and to oppoſe the open force of Pitholaüs. He therefore marched to Pherae, obliging his ſoldiers to obſerve the exacteſt diſcipline, and declaring, that his ſole deſign was to diſpoſſeſs the tyrant. This was effected without any violence; for Pitholaüs, incapable of oppoſition, inſtantly diſappeared at the approach of Philip, who was now left at liberty to make ſuch farther diſpoſitions in this country as might ſecure the affections of the people. He aſſured them, with all the appearance of a warm and ſincere friendſhip, that he really intended, and that his affairs would ſoon permit him, to give them up intire poſſeſſion of Magneſia; that the ſacred war ſhould be the principal object of his attention; that the Theſſalians, and their confederates, ſhould be freed from all the expence and burden of this quarrel, the final deciſion of which nothing but the unjuſt ſuſpicions of Athens had prevented: that all his forces, and all his treaſures, were devoted to this righteous cauſe; and that the enemies of Theſſaly ſhould ſoon

experience

experience the ſincerity of theſe his declarations. Thus did his artifice calm the jealouſies of this people, who reſigned themſelves once more, with full confidence, to the promiſes which Philip freely laviſhed, regarding them only as expedients; and, having thus diverted and allayed a ſtorm which might have proved dangerous, he returned to purſue the means of increaſing the luſtre and magnificence of his own kingdom.

PHILOSOPHERS, poets, actors, muſicians, men of genius, and artiſts of every kind, were received, careſſed, and rewarded, at the court of Macedon. If a man of merit, in any part of Greece, ſuffered by the caprice, neglect, or envy of his countrymen, he was ſure to be received by Philip with the diſtinction due to his abilities. Thus when Leoſthenes, an Athenian eminent for his eloquence, was driven from his own country, by the envy of his enemies, or the ſuſpicions which the people were made to entertain of his integrity; he found ſuch effectual protection, ſuch marks of affection, and reſpect from Philip, as made his countrymen aſhamed of their conduct; and taught them to regret their error, in giving their enemy a citizen of ſo much merit. But what ſeems ſtill a greater proof of the reputation which this prince had already acquired, and ſerved to extend and to increaſe it, was, that unfortunate princes and nobles crowded to his court, and there found a ſecure aſylum. When Egypt was at length ſubdued by Ochus, and Nectanebus obliged to abandon his dominions, this prince is ſaid to have taken refuge, not in Ethiopia, as * Diodorus relates, but in Macedon, with the only prince whom he thought capable of protecting him againſt the Perſian: and here he was received and entertained with ſuch intimate affection and confidence, that ſuſpicions were ſuggeſted of an unwarrantable correſpondence between him and queen Olympias. Hence authors, who were inattentive to the period of time in which Nectanebus could have come to Macedon, have ſuppoſed, that to him Alexander really owed his birth; and hence all the fancies of leſs antient and authentic

AEſchin. de falſ. Leg. Sect. 10. cum Schol.

* L. 16. Sect. 51. Solin. C. 14.

Glycas. Cedrenus. Syncellus. Chronogr.

authentic writers, and the accounts of thoſe magical arts by which they ſuppoſe that this prince gained the affections of Olympias. But, whatever may be objected againſt the reſidence of Nectanebus at Macedon, it is certain, that Artabazus and Memnon, two rebellious ſatraps (the one of whom had for a long time maintained a war againſt his maſter, and the other afterwards proved the moſt dangerous enemy to Alexander) lived with their families at Pella, ſupported and protected by Philip, until Mentor the Rhodian, who had done the Perſian great military ſervices, interceded for theſe his kinſmen, and made their peace.

Diod. Sic. L. 16. Sect. 51.

To his own ſubjects Philip appeared to act with that tenderneſs and moderation, that affability and condeſcenſion, which rendered him infinitely dear to them, notwithſtanding all the toils and diſtreſſes, by which they were continually harraſſed and waſted, under ſo warlike and enterprizing a prince. His ears were ever open to their complaints, and every day, before he gave audience, an officer was employed to remind him in form, that HE WAS MORTAL: thus did he contrive to affect an appearance of humility; and, at the ſame time, to remind his ſubjects of his real greatneſs, to give them high ideas of his elevation as a prince, and to aſſure them of his tender feelings as a man, and juſt concern for their welfare.

Plut. in Apoph.

IT once happened, that a poor woman appeared before him to demand an audience; and, according to the cuſtom of Macedon, to requeſt, that he would hear and determine her ſuit, which had been long depending, and which various engagements had obliged him to poſtpone. Still he pleaded his embarraſſments, and careleſſly put her off to ſome time of greater leiſure. Provoked at theſe repeated delays, ſhe now anſwered boldly: "If you cannot find time to do "me juſtice, diveſt yourſelf of your office; ceaſe to be a king." He at once conceived the full force of this remonſtrance, which a juſt indignation had extorted from this oppreſſed creature; and, far from being

being ſhocked or diſpleaſed at her freedom, he inſtantly heard and decided her ſuit. He acknowledged, that to be a king and a judge was, in effect, the ſame: that the throne was ſtrictly a tribunal, and not only gave him the power, but laid him under the inviolable obligation of diſtributing juſtice; and that to grant all the time and attention, neceſſary to ſo important an office was not a favour, but a duty which he owed to his ſubjects. All this, ſaith Monſieur Rollin, is contained in that expreſſion, ſo ſimple, and, at the ſame time, ſo pregnant with good ſenſe, *ceaſe to be a king*.

We have an inſtance alſo of his unbiaſſed regard to juſtice, in that noble anſwer which he made to a perſon who ſollicited him to exert his influence and authority in favour of a man, whoſe reputation, it was ſaid, muſt be ruined by a ſentence which was going to be pronounced againſt him. "I had rather," ſaid Philip, "that he ſhould loſe his "reputation, than that I ſhould deſtroy my own." Nor in his quality, as a judge, did he aſſume any rigid ſeverity, or auſtere appearance. On the contrary, his natural gaiety was ſometimes ſuffered to break forth, as in the caſe of two notorious villains, who accuſed each other before him; one of whom he ſentenced to be baniſhed; and, when the other began to exult in his ſuppoſed victory, the king, with an affected gravity, pronounced that he ſhould follow his adverſary. Plut. in Apophth.

In effect indeed, the illuſtrious warrior, and the wiſe and gracious prince, was no leſs diſtinguiſhed by his wit and feſtivity, his eaſe and gaiety in private life. The diſtance and haughty retirement of Aſiatic courts were, utterly unknown in Macedon. Philip had thoſe qualities which could bear the teſt of a conſtant and familiar intercourſe. He converſed with his nobles, and ſhared in their diverſions and entertainments, with all the freedom of an equal. His viſits to them were not announced in form: he oftentimes ſurprized them totally unprovided for his reception and entertainment. On one of

theſe occaſions, he is ſaid to have relieved his hoſt from his confuſion and diſtreſs, by an artifice, which it may be thought beneath the dignity of hiſtory to have tranſmitted to us. The ſupper, to which he came uninvited and unexpected, appeared ſcarcely ſufficient to ſatisfy the train which attended him. He ordered that it ſhould be privately intimated to the gueſts, that a ſecond and better courſe was ſoon to make its appearance. The expectation of more delicate entertainment made moſt of them eat leſs freely: the prince, and they who were in the ſecret, feaſted fully, and afterwards indulged their mirth at the diſappointment of the reſt.

Plutarch. in Apophth.

Demoſth. Olyn. 1. Sect. 7.

Athenae. L. 6. p. 248. Tourreil. Not. in Olyn. 1.

BUT it is by no means honourable to the character of Philip, that, in theſe his hours of feſtivity, his companions are ſaid to have been frequently choſen for the extravagance of their humours, the livelineſs and bitterneſs with which they expoſed each other to ridicule, and the ingeniouſneſs, and abject ſubmiſſion, with which they flattered their royal hoſt. One Cliſophus is recorded to have aped his maſter with ſuch infamous ſervility, as to uſe but one eye, when Philip had loſt one of his; and to halt, when Philip had been wounded in the leg. If the prince betrayed the leaſt diſlike of what he eat or drank, the countenance of the flatterer at once expreſſed the ſame ſenſations. With this he ſometimes mixed an affectation of bluntneſs and rudeneſs, which rough diſguiſe oftentimes conceals the moſt delicate flattery. When Philip one day upbraided him with his inſatiable importunity, "Why then," ſaid he, "do you allow me "time to forget your favours?" And when he was upon ſome occaſion particularly ſevere upon him, "a truce to your raillery," replied Cliſophus, "if you expect that I ſhould give you a good character "at court."

Athenae. L. 7. p. 289.

THE entertainment which he derived from the extravagance and follies of thoſe with whom he converſed, appears from the ſtory of Menecrates the phyſician. This man was mad enough to fancy himſelf

himſelf Jupiter, and is ſaid to have written a letter to Philip, conceived in theſe terms:

" Menecrates Jupiter, to king Philip, health!"

" You reign in Macedon. I am ſovereign in phyſic. I ſave the ſick. You deſtroy the healthy. Farewel."

To which Philip returned this anſwer:

" King Philip, to Menecrates, wiſhes [c] good ſenſe!"

To expoſe his madneſs, Philip made a magnificent entertainment, to which Menecrates was invited. While the other gueſts indulged themſelves in feaſting and drinking, the phyſician was treated like an immortal, and entertained with perfumes and incenſe. The firſt tranſport of joy, at ſeeing his divinity thus acknowledged, made him, for a while, reſign himſelf up to the deluſion: hunger, at length, forced him to recollect his condition; and, quite tired of this exalted character, he abruptly left the company to flatter the humour of their prince, and ridicule this deity who was obliged to eat, in order to ſubſiſt. Athenae L. 7. p. 289.

But flattery, ſervility, and abſurdity, were not the worſt of thoſe qualities by which Philip's companions were diſtinguiſhed, if the remains of thoſe authors, who have written largely of his conduct, have been tranſmitted faithfully and exactly. " In the choice of his " courtiers and confidents," ſaith the hiſtorian Theopompus, as quoted by * Athenaeus, " he conſulted neither merit nor probity; " Greeks and Barbarians were entertained by him indiſcriminately, " according to the degrees of their abandoned impudence and diſſo- " luteneſs: and this infamous collection were called the friends of

* Lib. 4. p. 167. Lib. 6 p. 260, 261.

[c] Φιλιππου Μενεκρατης. Υγιαινειν. The ſpirit of this ſhort epiſtle, which is alſo attributed to Ageſilaus, conſiſts in the equivocal ſignification of the word υγιαινειν, which is indiſcriminately applied to ſoundneſs either of mind or body.

" Philip. All his eſteem, all his liberality, was confined to men
" plunged in debauch, and given up to the groſſeſt exceſſes of a li-
" centious life. What ſorts of infamy, what kinds of vice, were
" they not guilty of? Some of them affected the exterior and de-
" portment of the other ſex, and, by their ſhocking commerce,
" might rather be called Philip's miſtreſſes than his friends: equally
" abandoned to pollution and cruelty, to murder and proſtitution.
" Enemies of honeſty and good faith, and ſhamefully triumphing in
" perjury and perfidy. Nothing could eſcape their rapine, or ſatisfy
" their avarice. So that this collection of wretches, though not ex-
" ceeding eight hundred men, enjoyed a greater revenue than ten
" thouſand Greeks peaceably ſettled in the moſt fertile ſoil."

Photius Bib. in Art. *Theopompus*.

THIS picture, ſhocking as it is, is yet ſaid to be taken from an hiſtorian who flouriſhed in the reigns of Philip and Alexander, who was connected with their friends, favoured by Alexander, and whoſe works were carefully collected and digeſted by the latter Philip, king of Macedon, to do honour to the memory of his illuſtrious predeceſſor. It is well known, that ſeverity and acrimony were the peculiar characters of Theopompus: and ſuch ſeverity, when juſtly merited, Philip frequently received with the utmoſt patience and indulgence. Yet, in juſtice to this prince, it muſt be acknowledged, that the whole paſſage is quoted by Athenaeus from the forty-ninth book of the hiſtory of Theopompus; and that * Diodorus obſerves, that the laſt ſix books, from the forty-eighth to the fifty-fourth, are at leaſt ſuſpected. [D] The expreſſion of Diodorus hath even been thought capable of a ſtronger ſignification, *That theſe laſt five books were intirely loſt in his time.* Theſe deſcriptions, which Athenaeus hath preſerved, are rather ſtronger and more offenſive than thoſe of Demoſthenes; and yet we know, that the orator was at leaſt as remarkable for his ſeverity, and for his force and art in aggravation, as

* L. 16. Sect. 3.

[D] ἐξ ὧν πεντε διαφωνουσιν. *De quinque tamen inter haec diſcrepatur.* RHODOM. *Ex quibus quinque interciderunt.* G. J. VOSSIUS.

the

the hiſtorian. We know too, that the colourings of oratory are generally higher and more ſtriking than thoſe of hiſtory. It muſt therefore be ſubmitted to the judicious, whether there be not reaſon to ſuſpect, that ſome later writer might have attempted to ſupply the loſs of the laſt books of the hiſtory of Theopompus; and unwarily indulged his imagination, in enlarging on the deſcriptions of Philip's diſſolute manners, which he found in the great Athenian. If the ſtyle of this hiſtorian, as * Suidas informs us, was ſo exactly imitated in his own days, as to deceive the Greeks, much more might ſucceeding ages receive ſuch a ſpurious addition as the genuine remains of Theopompus: and if the exquiſite taſte of the Athenians could not immediately diſtinguiſh between the original, and an ingenious copy; it is ſcarcely preſumptuous to ſuppoſe, that Athenaeus, Photius, and ſome other writers, might have been deceived.

* in Αναξιμενης.

But however this may be, or however Philip might, at ſome times, indulge himſelf in pleaſure and ſenſuality, his attention was not one moment diverted from his grand deſigns. The iſland of Euboea, and the territories of Olynthus, were now the immediate objects of his machinations. The ſituation and importance of Euboea, which he juſtly called the fetters of Greece, determined him to eſtabliſh ſuch an intereſt there, as might facilitate the conqueſt of the iſland; and, with Olynthus, he was now no longer obliged to diſſemble; but reſolved to ſeek an occaſion of coming to an open rupture, as with the only powerful neighbouring ſtate which he had left unſubdued; the only ſtate, which, by uniting with the Athenians, might inable them to harraſs his frontiers, or diſtreſs his kingdom.

Olymp. 107. Y. 4.

When the Athenians had driven out the Thebans from Euboea, they left the iſland free, and demanded no other acknowledgment for their protection, than the advantage of thoſe proviſions, which the ertility of the ſoil inabled the iſlanders to ſupply. The country was

AEſchin. in Ctef. Sect. 3 R.

was divided into ſeveral diſtinct and independent ſtates, and every city governed by thoſe whoſe influence and addreſs could raiſe them to the ſupreme command. Theſe petty tyrants ſoon began to have frequent diſputes and conteſts with each other, which Philip, no doubt, took care to foment, until they at laſt produced an open rupture. On this occaſion, Philip eſpouſed the intereſt of Callias, the governor of Chalcis (a city neareſt to the continent, and, at this day, joined to it by a bridge) and ſent Eurylochus, one of his generals, thither with ſome forces and money. Plutarch, who commanded in Eretria, inſtantly diſpatched ambaſſadors to Athens, expreſſing his apprehenſions of the Macedonian power, and the conſequences of Philip's interfering in the diſputes of the iſland; intreating the protection of the Athenians, and offering to ſubmit to their juriſdiction. They had, at this time, ſome forces in Euboea, under the conduct of one of their generals, named Hegeſilaus, who ſupported the propoſitions of Plutarch, and anſwered for the integrity of his intentions.

Demoſth. de falſa Leg. Sect. 82. Schol.

Dem. Orat. de Pace.

DEMOSTHENES, though an inveterate enemy to the incroaching power of the Macedonian, oppoſed Plutarch, and adviſed his countrymen to reject his overtures. No other motive hath been aſſigned for this conduct, but a ſovereign contempt which he entertained for Plutarch and the Eretrians. Poſſibly he might have conceived, and not without reaſon, that this tyrant was ſecretly in the intereſt of Philip; and that the whole affair was no more than the conſequence of a ſcheme, concerted between them, to engage the Athenians in an expenſive and inglorious expedition, ſo as to fatigue and exhauſt them.

IF ſuch was the opinion of Demoſthenes, it was fully juſtified by the event: but, at preſent, he was ſingle in this opinion; and it was received with ſo much indignation, that the people, who naturally ſuſpected this apparent inconſiſtency with his former ſentiments, and

were

were particularly inflamed by the party, whoſe private deſigns made them earneſt to engage their countrymen in this expedition, were ſcarcely reſtrained from tearing the orator to pieces. Demoſthenes himſelf imputes this heat and violence to the latter cauſe. "You "may remember," ſaith he, in his oration on the Peace, "that "during the diſorders of Euboea, when certain perſons perſuaded "you to aſſiſt Plutarch, and to engage in an inglorious and expenſive "war, I was the firſt, the only one, who roſe up to oppoſe it; and "ſcarcely eſcaped their fury, who, for a trifling gain, were urging "you to many highly pernicious meaſures." But, although he thus affects to conſider this fury as the mere artifice of intrigue and corruption; yet it is certain, that any oppoſition to the paſſions and reigning ſentiments of the Athenians, was frequently received with impatience and reſentment: and never were they hurried on with greater ardor, than to this expedition. Men of diſtinction and eminence vied with each other in their zeal for the public ſervice. They were for ruſhing, all at once, into the iſland, till Phocion, who was appointed general, obliged them to be content with ſerving by turns. The orator Hyperides, who was bound to equip a ſingle veſſel, inſiſted on fitting out two; one on his own account, and one for his ſon. Niceratus, the ſon of Nicias, imbarked, notwithſtanding a lingering diſorder with which he was afflicted, and the recent loſs of his two children, which he then felt in all its force. Eretemon, Mantitheus, Euthydemus, Cleon, Ariſtocles, Pamphilus, all illuſtrious Athenians, fitted out their gallies: the three laſt commanded them; the others ranked with the cavalry, where Æſchines, of whom we ſhall hereafter ſpeak, and Demoſthenes alſo ſerved. Thus did this people, whoſe impreſſions were ever violent, and who always acted in extremes, ruſh on to an expedition calculated to ſerve the purpoſes of Philip.

Plutarch in Orat. Vit. p. 849.

Demoſth. in Midiam. p. 408.

Æſchin. de falſa Leg. Sect. 53. Dem. ut ſup.

THEIR forces landed at Eretria, where affairs appeared in a much worſe condition than had been imagined. The troops of Philip were ſo diſpoſed as to command every advantageous poſt. He had ſent

Plut. in Phocion.

ſent in but few Macedonians. The greateſt part of his force was formed of auxiliaries, who rather appeared to be employed and paid by Chalcis, than as mercenaries in the ſervice of Philip. With theſe was alſo joined a large body of Phocians, (though enemies of Macedon, and allies of Athens) engaged by ampler pay than they received at home: and Plutarch himſelf gave many indications of diſſaffection and treachery. Thoſe whom they came to relieve, were found equally corrupted, and equally the enemies of Athens with thoſe whom they were to engage. Thus was the ſnare diſcovered: but, happily, the abilities of their leader extricated them from the danger.

AEſchines in Cteſiph. Sect. 32.

THIS man would have done honour to the early and leaſt corrupted times of the Athenian ſtate. His manners were formed in the academy upon the models of the moſt exact and rigid virtue. It was ſaid, that no Athenian ever ſaw him laugh or weep, or deviate, in any inſtance, from the moſt ſettled gravity and compoſure. He learned the art of war under Chabrias: and frequently moderated the exceſſes, and corrected the errors, of that general: his humanity he admired and imitated; and taught him to exert it in a more extenſive and liberal manner. When he had received his directions to ſail, with twenty ſhips, to collect the contributions of the allies and dependent cities; "why that force?" ſaid Phocion, "if I am to "meet them as enemies, it is inſufficient: if I am ſent to friends "and allies, a ſingle veſſel will ſerve." He bore the ſeverities of a military life with ſo much eaſe, that, if Phocion ever appeared warmly cloathed, the ſoldiers at once pronounced it the ſign of a remarkably bad ſeaſon. His outward appearance was forbidding, but his converſation eaſy and obliging; and all his words and actions expreſſed the utmoſt affection and benevolence. In the popular aſſembly, his lively, cloſe, and natural manner of ſpeaking, ſeemed, as it were, the eccho of the ſimplicity and integrity of his mind: and had frequently a greater effect than even the dignity and energy of Demoſthenes; who

Plut. in Phocion.

who called him "the pruner of his periods." He ſtudied only good ſenſe and plain reaſoning, and deſpiſed every adventitious ornament. In an aſſembly, when he was to addreſs the people, he was ſurprized by a friend wrapped up in thought. "I am conſidering," ſaid he, "whether I cannot retrench ſome part of my intended "addreſs." He was ſenſible of the ill conduct of his countrymen, and ever treated them with the greateſt ſeverity. He defied their cenſures, and ſo far did he affect to deſpiſe their applauſe, that, at a time when his ſentiments extorted their approbation, he turned about, in ſurprize, and aſked a friend, "if any thing weak or im-"pertinent had eſcaped him." His ſenſe of the degeneracy of Athens made him fond of pacific meaſures. He ſaw the deſigns of Philip, but imagined that the ſtate was too corrupted to give him any effectual oppoſition. So that he was of the number of thoſe men, who, according to Demoſthenes, in his third Philippic oration, "gave up the intereſts of the ſtate, not corruptly or ignorantly, but "from a deſperate purpoſe of yielding to the fate of a conſtitution "thought to be irrecoverably loſt." He was, of conſequence, ever of the party oppoſite to Demoſthenes; and, having been taught by experience to ſuſpect the popular leaders, conſidered his earneſtneſs to rouſe the Athenians to arms, as an artifice to embroil the ſtate, and, by that means, to gain an influence in the aſſembly. "Pho-"cion!" ſaid Demoſthenes, "the people, in ſome mad fit, will "certainly ſacrifice thee to their fury." "Yes!" replied he, "and you "will be their victim, if ever they have an interval of reaſon." Yet they often prevailed on him to act againſt his judgment, though never to ſpeak againſt his conſcience. He never refuſed or declined the command, whatever might be his opinion of the expedition. Forty-five times was he choſen to lead their armies, generally in his abſence; and ever without the leaſt application. They knew his merit; and, in the hour of danger, forgot that ſeverity with which he uſually treated their inclinations and opinions.

THE preſent occaſion demanded all his abilities and addreſs. The pompous aſſurances of the aſſiſtance and concurrence of the Euboean ſtates had determined him to lead but a moderate number of forces into the iſland. He now ſaw the vanity of theſe expectations: nor were his ſoldiers duly obedient to military diſcipline. Immediately after the deſcent, numbers of his cavalry quitted him and diſperſed; but theſe he would, by no means, recal or wait for: "all that could "prove of real ſervice," he obſerved, "continued with him: the "mutinous and diſobedient would not only prove uſeleſs and un-"governable themſelves, but impede and corrupt others. And, as "they are conſcious of their own miſconduct, they will be the leſs "apt (ſaid he) to miſrepreſent or calumniate us at our return."

Plutarch. in Phocion.

THUS were the Euboeans much ſuperior in numbers, an inconvenience which Phocion determined, if poſſible, to remedy by the advantage of ſituation. The Euboeans are celebrated by Homer for their firm and cloſe manner of engaging. They valued themſelves on verifying this elogium; and, by a law, which Strabo mentions to have ſeen engraven on a column in the midſt of the iſland, forbad the uſe of miſſive weapons; which they never employed, at leaſt in their civil wars. This made Phocion chuſe for the ſituation of his camp, an eminence near the plain of Tamynas, which it was probable the enemy would occupy, and ſeparated from it by a piece of rough and rocky ground, incloſed with a deep ditch. Here he intrenched himſelf, and waited the approach of Callias, who incamped on the oppoſite plain, and exerted all his efforts to ſurround him. Some days he remained beſieged in his camp: the news was brought to Athens; and reinforcements were decreed. In the mean time the enemy prepared for a general aſſault. As they advanced, Phocion ordered his men to ſtand to their arms, while he himſelf went to ſacrifice: in which, either his religion, or artifice, engaged him for ſome time. His ſoldiers began to be impatient for the charge: but, as he obſerved on this or a like occaſion, "They could not then

Plutarch. in Phocion.

"make

"make him valiant, nor he make them wiſe." Plutarch, who probably ſaw his deſign, and was willing to defeat it, began to utter many inſinuations to the diſadvantage of the general's courage; and, in a pretended fit of zeal, charged the enemy himſelf at the head of the auxiliaries. When the cavalry ſaw this, they forgot the orders of their leader; ruſhed out without forming, and ſpurred on againſt the enemy. Plutarch's attack was weak and fallacious: he fled at once, and, falling back upon the horſe, ſpread terror and confuſion among them: ſeveral were killed, and the reſt reached the camp in the utmoſt diſorder. The Chalcidians, in their turn, purſued with a raſh and intemperate ardor: and, in full confidence of the victory, marched up boldly to the intrenchments, and began to level them. Phocion now put an end to his ſacrifice: the enemy was engaged in an uneven and diſadvantageous ground: he ſallied out with his infantry; made great havock among them; and quickly drove them to the plain they had at firſt occupied. Here he halted, to give time for his cavalry to rally: and, having collected round him the braveſt of his forces, fell furiouſly on the center of the Chalcidians. The fight was bloody and obſtinate, and Phocion in the utmoſt danger of being overpowered by numbers, when Cleophanes, a gallant Athenian, who, by this time, had formed the cavalry on a plain which had been uſed for a horſe courſe, charged the right wing of the enemy. This wing was quickly broken; the center gave way, and the victory was compleat. It was obſerved, that Demoſthenes was by no means the firſt to return to the charge. He was even accuſed as a deſerter of his rank. AEſchines indeed behaved with an intrepidity which was honoured and rewarded; and was appointed, by Phocion, to bring the news of this victory to Athens.

Plutarch. in Phocion. AEſchin. in Cteſiph. Sect. 32.

Demoſth. in Midiam. p. 399. AEſchin. de falſa Leg. Sect. 53.

THE conduct of Plutarch, in the late engagement, rendered him juſtly ſuſpected. And ſome further practices and intelligences, in which he was diſcovered, or the declaration and open avowal of his attachment

Plutarch. in Phocion.

attachment to the Macedonian intereſt, determined Phocion to treat him as an enemy. He drove him out of the iſland, and then proceeded to attack the fort of Zaratra, ſituated advantageouſly on that part of the iſland which projects, as it were, into an iſthmus, ſo as to command the ſea on each ſide. The garriſon ſurrendered, but Phocion would not ſuffer any one of the Greeks to be made a priſoner: "leſt the Athenians" ſaid he, "ſhould at ſome time be "inflamed by their popular leaders, and, in a ſudden fit of fury, "wreak their vengeance on them."

Demoſth. in Midiam. p. 408. Plutarch. in Phocion.

THUS had Philip the mortification to find his ſecret practices, for this time, ineffectual. The expedition ended to the immortal honour of the illuſtrious Athenian, who re-imbarked at Styra, with his victorious army; and, with all his ſhips collected and drawn up in order of battle, crowned with garlands, and inlivened by the ſound of flutes, with which the rowers kept time, entered the port of Athens, amidſt the joyful acclamations of his ſoldiers and fellow-citizens.

END of the FIRST VOLUME.

3 FE 63